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A PORTRAYAL OF THE WORK LIFE OF TENURED
AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE FACULTY WORKING WITHIN HISTORICALLY
WHITE, PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis

East Tennessee State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctorate of Education

by

Carol Annette Ingram Wilson

December 1998

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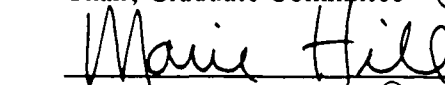
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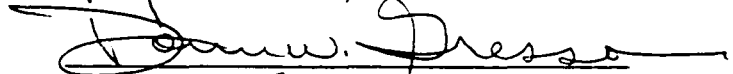
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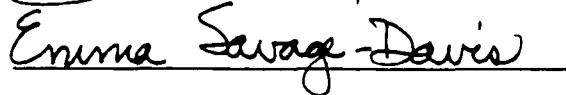
30th day of September, 1998.

The committee read and examined her dissertation, supervised her defense of it in an oral examination, and decided to recommend that her study be submitted to the Graduate Council in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate in Education.


Chair, Graduate Committee


Marie Hill


J. Ann. Presson


Emma Savage-Davis

Signed on behalf of
the Graduate Council


Interim Dean, School of Graduate
Studies

ABSTRACT

A PORTRAYAL OF THE WORK LIFE OF TENURED AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE FACULTY WORKING WITHIN HISTORICALLY WHITE, PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

by

Carol Annette Ingram Wilson

The purpose of this study was to portray the experiences of African-American tenured female faculty employed within Historically White, public institutions of higher education in Virginia. This study is a portrait of the career paths, teaching experiences, institutional experiences, community and personal activities, work life, and the future of African-Americans. The study focused on personal experiences and provided a grounded recording for other African-American female faculty members employed within comparable institutions of higher education.

The interviews also addressed educational preparation, mentoring, expectations, frustrations, difficulties, cultural and collegial experiences.

Participants' audio taped responses were transcribed. Similarities that evolved from the discussions were identified. Repeat conversations reflected concerns about the lack of role models, community, activities, isolation, mentoring, and access to professional development opportunities. These women were experiencing some of the same career paths, teaching experiences, institutional experiences, community and personal activities, and work life environments.

The findings portrayed women that were very competent. The seven women interviewed had distinctive work ethics and, in spite of overloads in departmental responsibilities, at least six of them had completed some scholarly activities. These scholarly activities included funded grants, books, and community reform projects.

These African-American women faculty members are still struggling to enter into the academic mainstream. They are currently working in different and uncertain environments. Being African-American and female places the women in this study in a subordinate role.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

This is to certify that the following study has been filed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of East Tennessee State University.

Title of Grant of Project A Portrayal of the Work Life of Tenured
African-American Female Faculty Working within Historically White, Public
Institutions of Higher Education in Virginia

Principal Investigator Carol Annette Ingram Wilson

Department Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis

Institutional Review Board, Chairman _____

DEDICATION

Dedicated to

my husband, Dr. Zaphon Robert Wilson, and
my children, Kevin Anson and Ada Katherine Wilson.

To my father, the deceased, Rev. Milton James Ingram, and my mother,
Mrs. Ruby Hunt Ingram, educators when school
was school, and teaching was teaching.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. Hal Knight, chair of my committee and enforcer of quality in my written work. His ever-pressing manner completed this level of my studies.

To Dr. Marie Somers Hill, thank you for sending me into the public world of professionals. My comfort levels exist only because you took the initiative to support my presentation endeavors.

Three years ago Dr. Donn Gresso allowed me as a writer, soon to be a researcher, to explore the cultural aspects of higher education. His required level of literature review for my papers allowed for growth in a topic I wanted to pursue. That exposure has helped me achieve success in the work I encounter today.

I am grateful to Dr. Emma Savage-Davis and Dr. Ronald Lindahl for agreeing to share their expertise in the area of research so that I could move toward the goal of becoming published. Their encouragement speaks to the quality of faculty that exists at East Tennessee State University. To those close to my heart and those that shared this journey, may you understand the deep-felt appreciation in my heart for helping me succeed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout recent history African-Americans have struggled to be included in institutions of higher education, regardless of time period or context. This struggle for inclusion has been a defining element in the African-American experience due to the value placed on education in a modern society. African-Americans have historically pursued education because of its functional and symbolic values. One example of this attitude is expressed by Collins (1991), who stated that, "Education has long served as a powerful symbol for the important connections among self, change, and empowerment" (p. 147). In this same vein, Williams (1990) wrote that the African-American community has always held education in high regards.

Since the Nineteenth Century, African-American women have played a significant role in advancing the struggle for inclusion in higher education. "The wide range of experiences in African-American women's pursuit of higher education from the nineteenth century to the present . . . has always varied according to the historical time and context" (Ihle, 1992, xii). "The African-American woman has been persistent in her determination to gain knowledge and empowerment through formal education at colleges and universities" (Ihle, 1992, xiv).

Davis (1993) suggested:

Throughout the history of African-American women, education has been a site of ever-evolving complex and frequently frustrating battles . . . contemporary battlefields in higher education on which black women, teachers, and administrators are reevaluating, clashing with, and challenging old practices, while simultaneously articulating new ones . . . giving voices new ways of

and organizing around academic hierarchy. (cited in James & Farmer, 1993, pp. xi-xii)

According to Lerner (1992), evidence of this battle is lacking due to the subordinate position African-American women have in society. African-American women have had their history written by others, getting only a snapshot of their legitimate past. Lerner further stated that, "Black women have been doubly victimized by scholarly neglect and racist assumptions. Belonging as they do to two groups which have traditionally been treated as inferiors by American society-Blacks and women-they have been doubly invisible" (p. xvii).

The invisibility Lerner alludes to results in a paternalistic approach to the study of African-American women. One example of this paternalism is seen in Lanker's (1989) work. He examined previously recorded information on African-American women. He suggested that White males were able to step outside race, gender, age, and class, to interview, photograph, and research materials created and collected to capture in words the African-American female experiences in higher education. Lanker did not provide a detailed contextual analysis of African-American women in his work.

Be this as it may, professional African-American women find themselves at the center of a continuing debate over qualifications for employment as well as qualifications for advancement. Many of the African-American women surveyed in the literature intimate that they were hired merely to fulfill an Affirmative Action policy charge, which only introduced them into the academy as token representation. Fine, Johnson, and Ryan (1990) found:

Women comprise 44 % of the workforce and fill nearly 1/3 managerial positions. Just as women have entered the workforce, minorities have too. Responding to both Affirmative Action policies established by the federal government and the

realities of population demographics, employers have hired greater numbers of minorities, representing a variety of racial groups. (p. 305)

Moses (1997) suggested:

In higher education administration, as in society the numerically dominant group controls the academy and its culture. The small number of people from other ethnic or racial groups are often seen by the dominant group to be tokens and are, [sic] thus treated as representatives of their group or as symbols rather than individuals. Black women faculty members and administrators often find themselves in the position of being tokens. Because there are so few of them, there is a tendency for the majority to see these women as spokespersons for all blacks rather than as individuals with other qualifications. (p. 26)

Moses' observation is a recurring theme throughout the literature on African-American women in the academy. They are a double minority with limited resources and questionable support structures. Bronsiten, Rothblum, and Solomon (1993) found:

Over the past twenty years, increasing numbers of women have been hired for entry-level academic positions. While this appears to redress the gender imbalance that existed, the reality is that the overall proportion of women faculty has remained about the same, since the total number of faculty has itself increased over that time period. (p. 17)

In order for African-American women to successfully engage the hierarchy to advance their own interests, Williams (1990) advised: “ We must inform ourselves and our communities about the educational issues that impact us. Next, we must commit ourselves to being involved in their resolution. Without our commitment to change, the problems will persist and worsen” (p. 1).

The multiple roles played by African-American females coincide with their multiple goals for achieving professional fulfillment in higher education. Williams (1990) stated: “As black administrators, teachers, and professors, we must demand excellence as our primary educational goal, then insist on equal opportunity and open access for all” (p. 1).

Traditionally, these values provide the cornerstone for equal opportunity and access to professional development. Moreover, these values established the vision for the first African-American females participating in higher education. Consequently, African-American women enter the academy committed to maintaining high educational and professional standards.

Peterson (1990) and Williams (1990) discussed issues about African-American women employed in historically White colleges and universities, highlighting isolation, mentoring, professional development, internal conflict, and work life. These issues cover a broad range of primary concerns experienced by African-American women throughout the existing literature on African-American women in the academy. An extensive examination of this literature will follow in Chapter Two.

Although African-American women have played an instrumental role in higher education, their institutional experiences have not been clearly identified or discussed from a historical perspective. Although the following work is dated, it serves as a seminal example of the best work in this genre. Yellin (1982) emphasized the importance of restoring the historical presence of African-American women, given their absence from otherwise responsible materials. According to Yellin’s (1982) earlier writings, so

conspicuous is the absence of black women from most standard research that one wonders whether they were systematically excluded as these records were professionalized.

Perkins (1997) revisited the participation of African-American women in her study of the Seven Sister colleges between 1880-1960. She recorded dialogues of administrative attitudes that still prevail regarding African-American women attempting to integrate Historically White, public institutions of higher education. These attitudes, according to Perkins, rehash old stereotypical views on the levels of participation African-American women should engage in as students in the Seven Sister colleges. These attitudes do not separate African-American women as professionals from African-American women as students. The author found that university policy was designed to keep enrollment low by requiring African-American women to live off campus. Although these data are based on a historical time frame (1880-1960), contemporary issues regarding African-American women still focus on work life, isolation, and the overall professional environment.

Williams (1990) spoke to the issue of professional environment by suggesting that society must be informed about the existing environment within which African-American administrators, faculty, and staff work. Williams observed that African-American women in Historically White institutions face an environment that does not provide accessibility to departmental and university resources, scholarly activities, and research opportunities.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of African-American women in Historically White, public institutions of higher education in Virginia. Questions examined in this study included concerns for work life, academic activities, academic experiences, defined characteristics of self, and perceptions of the academic struggle for African-American women.

African-American women in Virginia represent the population for this research effort. Virginia has a researchable African-American female population serving in Historically White, public institutions of higher education.

Fifty-four percent of the African-American population resides in the South (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1993, p. 176). Approximately 30% of the population in Virginia is African-American. A study on African-American women is most timely because a study of this nature has never been done before.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study rests upon the documentation of the work experiences of African-American women in Virginia. The purpose is to ascertain if their experiences parallel those reported in the literature on the experiences of African-American women in the academy throughout the United States.

This dissertation will also add to the literature on African-American women in the academy. This research effort is particularly important because African-American women have no alternative sources of information on their experiences in the academy.

Research Questions

This study explored, recorded, and extracted information on tenured African-American female faculty employed by Historically White, public institutions of higher education in Virginia through the use of an in-depth interview (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The research questions that will shape this research effort include the following:

1. What are the professional activities of the participants?
 2. What perceptions do participants have of themselves?
 3. What do participants perceive as institutional barriers that hamper or prevent career advancement?
 4. What do participants perceive as the attitudes held by colleagues toward them?
- What are the work conditions of the participants?

Three broad issues are examined in Chapter Two. These issues are:

- (1) context of minority representation in higher education, (2) African-American women working within Historically White, public institutions of higher education, and (3) challenges for the future of African-American women working within Historically White institutions of higher education.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This review of the literature on African-American women employed in Historically White public institutions of higher education examined three broad issues: (1) Context of minority representation in higher education, (2) African-American women working within Historically White public institutions of higher education, and (3) challenges for the future of African-American women working within Historically White institutions of higher education.

Three main areas of literature are examined in this chapter. First is an examination of the context of minority representation in higher education. Second is an examination of the literature about African-American women working within Historically White institutions of higher education. The examination concentrates on issues of isolation, mentoring, professional development, internal conflict, and work environments.

Third is an examination of the challenges for the future of African-American women in Historically White institutions of higher education. This examination concentrates on issues relating to the difficulty of meeting challenges for African-American women in Historically White institutional settings. These challenges include building alliances with those institutional stakeholders who help formulate attitudes that affect African-American women's participation in the institution; Affirmative Action models for institutional development; procedures designed to facilitate equality of

opportunity and outcome; and planned strategies for promoting commitment to diversity within Historically White institutions of higher education.

Context of Minority Representation in Higher Education

African-American women first came into professional positions in predominantly white institutions in the 1970s according to Howard-Vital and Morgan (1993). They noted that African-American Ph.D.s were in great demand at Historically White institutions in the early 1970s, but the percentages have decreased in the institutions studied. Howard-Vital and Morgan (1993) attributed this decline to:

institutions refusing to follow Affirmative Action, the lack of federal intervention, the ever-present, old boy hiring network, the hiring of African-Americans in nontraditional positions, and the insular, subjective tenure reviews (performed under the cloak of academic freedom). (pp. 186-187)

The literature in this area is complicated due to the pairing of race and gender. The gender/race dichotomy further complicates the role of African-American women in the academy, a dichotomy that is mirrored in the larger society.

Furthermore, African-American higher education institutions in the late 19th century were male dominated, with the woman being placed in a subservient position. The industrial education model for higher education in the late 19th century was supported by major industrialists and educators such as Booker T. Washington. Critics of Washington argued:

Booker T. Washington's industrial education served as a deterrent to the growth of academic public high schools for blacks and college-level courses at black state institutions. Private high schools and colleges continued to grow to meet the demands of their African-American clientele who wanted a solid liberal arts education. (Ihle, 1992, pp. xviii-xix)

The above quote demonstrates the thought circumventing the educational resources for African-Americans. The liberal arts education model for African-American women is no different. Black women were taught to be the gentle accessories to male domination (Ihle, 1992).

The end of the 20th century witnessed both retrenchment and growth in African-American higher education. According to Vital Signs (1997):

(1) The percentage of all professional degrees awarded to blacks in 1985 that were awarded to black women: 46.4 percent; (2) The percentage of all professional degrees awarded to blacks in 1994 that were awarded to black women: 57.2 percent; (3) The percentage of all doctoral degrees awarded to African-Americans in 1985 that were awarded to black women: 58.4 percent; (4) The percentage of all doctoral degrees awarded to African-Americans in 1995 that were awarded to black women: 62.5 percent; (5) Percentage of full-time faculty members in higher education in 1983 who were black: 4.0 [percent]; (6) Percentage of full-time faculty members in higher education in 1993 who were black: 4.8 [percent]; (7) Percentage of full-time black faculty members who were tenured in 1985: 53.8 percent; (8) Percentage of full-time black faculty members who were tenured in 1995: 42.9 percent. (p. 77)

The passage above clearly illustrates how dynamic the growth in the number of black women receiving professional degrees was between 1985 and 1994. This same trend is reflected in the number of black women receiving doctoral degrees. However, retrenchment appears to occur with an examination of the percentage of blacks holding full-time faculty positions in higher education. The number remained constant for a 10 year period, inching slightly upward from 4.0 % in 1983 to 4.8 % in 1993. Implicit in these percentages is the low number of black women in the professorate. (Vital Signs, 1997).

With this as the backdrop for African-American female participation in higher education, recent demographic information from the American Council on Education

illustrated that “Black students are showing striking gains in attending and graduating from colleges and universities and last year received a record number of Ph.D.s with minority college enrollment increasing 4.9 percent” (Applebome, 1996, p. A2). This study further illustrated that African-American women are gaining more access to higher education than their African-American male counterparts.

African-American students remain under-represented in higher education in relation to their number in the population and their high school graduation rates (New York Times Service, 1996). Moreover, “the number of African-American women obtaining their first professional degrees increased a staggering 219% over the last decade, and the number of bachelors degrees awarded to black women in the past 20 years has increased 55 percent” (Gray, 1997, p. A15).

This sign of change is a positive reflection in contemporary society. The increase in the number of minorities and women in higher education will force a shift in the existing structure of higher education. (Sanders & Mellow, 1990).

African-American Women Working within Historically White Institutions of Higher Education

Isolation

The commitment from members of an organization to an organization emerges from a desire to work in that particular organization. Members must be motivated and willing to contribute personal resources as skills, insight, and knowledge. The organization must feel these resources are relevant to reaching organizational goals

(Becker, 1981). Inclusion of personnel by an organization, according to Miller (1994), encourages environmental change not pressuring members to leave their individual and cultural differences. Everyone is asked to contribute to the full extent of their being.

According to Miller (1994) “An organization must establish a comprehensive, integrated strategy of inclusive policies, procedures, and systems, [not] addressing isolated areas with isolated policies, [keeping] the people isolated” (p. 40). Organizations avoiding isolation of constituents are committed to diminishing isolation through inclusion of individual differences, an awareness of personal skills and an acknowledgement of cultural differences. A company must update its system of inclusiveness. “It must teach skills in communications, conflict resolution, advocacy, problem solving, [and] addressing fears about inclusion of many cultures” (Miller, 1994, p. 41).

Potts (1994) noted that in business organizations white men in leadership are insulated from the pain white women and people of color feel in organizations where they [white males] feel comfortable. Potts (1994) stated, “The discovery that white women and people of color do not feel welcomed or included is alarming in these . . . organizations because of years invested in quality concepts, integrated into the culture” (p. 168). Relationships with white women or people of color are, as Potts (1994) described, are spontaneous. “White men who are motivated by relationships with people who are different by race or gender often live in two worlds” (Potts, 1994, p. 169). Excluding groups of people from organizational conversations because of race or gender socializes both minority and majority members into isolation. Oppressive issues such as

isolation are delegated rather than understood as a responsibility of the leader to change the organization with reference to issues of sexism or racism (Potts, 1994).

For example, women walk a more difficult tightrope to behave acceptably in corporate America (Bunker, 1994,). Role behaviors and the glass ceiling determine an organization's behavior toward a committed, inclusive culture. The few women at the top of the executive ladder experience a lonely and higher climb, eventually arriving as executives and pioneers (Bunker, 1994). Hoy (1994) researched the lack of encouragement for women to fully participate at all levels of an organization for long term success. A process must begin that honors diversity with a strategy oriented toward honoring differences rather than implying the need for assimilation, encouraging full participation of women at all levels (Hoy, 1994). "[A] complete understanding of the system is required in order that the change can be made with full participation of those whom the system affects and currently disenfranchises" (Hoy, 1994, p. 185).

Similarly, Park (1996) recorded the gender-based hierarchies existed within corporations and bureaucracies and that they were dominated by masculine principles and structures. Institutional sexism in the University setting impacts current working assumptions regarding teaching research, and service. Furthermore, Park (1996) found research, teaching, and service reflect and perpetuate masculine values and practices, preventing the advancement of female faculty. This creates a gender division of labor where tasks such as research are deemed men's work.

Conversely, Bassett (1992) described how African-American women had difficulty keeping up with ever-changing procedures learning the rules, and following these rules

carefully only to find out they [had] changed. Academic rules always change due to external forces out of the control of the institution, but they also can change based on institutional values and needs.

“The subtle sex discrimination reflected in the ways women students and faculty are treated differently has been called the ‘chilly climate’” (Hall, cited in Parson, Sands, & Duane, 1991, p. 20). The small numbers of women faculty on university campuses created a professional “chilly climate” that reflected discriminatory barriers (Hall, as cited in Parson, Sands, & Duane, 1991). Minority, female faculty in the academy deal with the sociohistorical nature of the American University perception of their ability to fully participate in a university setting (Gonzalez, 1994). “Minorities are viewed as exotic individuals who possess an innate mastery of minority affairs” (Gonzalez, 1994, p. 14). “From both the limited national evidence and the data for a single institution, it is clear that Black female faculty represent a very small part of the instructional personnel in higher education” (Graves, 1990, p. 4).

Boice (1993) wrote that African-American women felt isolated and likely to fail. Their decisions to react with toughness suggested that they could see no hope of improvements or flourishing in academic careers. This assumption of failure, and the required conscious role change actions, is reflective of the isolation experienced by African-American women.

Graves (1990) examined how African-American women were isolated while working within Historically White Institutions of higher education. “Black women faculty tend to be concentrated in the non-tenured, lower-level faculty ranks . . . compared to

their White female and all their male counterparts. Black women faculty occupy lower-status positions, . . . ‘last among equals’ position for Black women faculty” (Graves, 1990, p. 5).

Carey (1990) discussed the marginality of African-American women when she stated that they are often seen as “the other, they are token, a situation which renders them highly visible” (p. 17). Sanders and Mellow (1990) conducted case study research about failed efforts to position Black women in administrative positions at a New England institution of higher education. They commented that “Black administrators are added like Christmas ornaments, they drop off the branches after the holidays” (p. 13). The status as “ornament” is representative of the highly visible powerlessness of the African-American female in higher education. The ornament theme is repeated throughout the literature and speaks to the issue of the gender/race dichotomy. Using racism and sexism as a framework for her study, Graves (1990) studied the current trends impinging on African-American women’s ability to maintain their presence in higher education as faculty members. “Black women clearly seem to be limited by the combined, interactive effects of racism and sexism in their quest for faculty position. In spite of a small cadre of Black women faculty, there is little evidence to suggest racism and its corresponding discriminations have been eliminated” (Sue, cited in Graves, 1990, pp. 5-6). This isolation is reflected in work life experiences of African-American women who are separated out from the mainstream of social activities in their departments. Carroll (1982) described the environment of being part of a number of African-American women in academe. Carroll further noted in her work life at the University of Pittsburgh:

Eight percent of the professional staff are Black, and a slightly larger proportion of the White staff members are women . . . White men and Black men markedly exceed White women and Black women at the upper ranks. White men constitute 50 percent of the full professors, Black men 31 percent, White women 19 percent, and Black women 3 percent. (pp. 116-117)

Peterson (1990) examined isolation, professional development, and internal conflict as recurrent major challenges facing African-American women working in Historically White Institutions of higher education. Isolation surfaced regarding attempts to participate in collaborative efforts with other faculty on program issues and also while attempting to open lines of communication with colleagues on professional and informal departmental matters. Peterson (1990) also stated that African-American women still face this type of isolation. Ironically, in the last two decades, higher education has struggled to assimilate diversity into its curriculum, its student body, and their professional staffs while at the same time marginalizing African-American women.

African-American women in the academy must be cognizant of the various groups they are attempting to join. Andrews (1993) argued that African-American women “must contend with the professional pressures associated with working in a historically white, middle-and upper-middle-class male-dominated profession” (p. 182). These pressures represent value changes and compromises that impede or facilitate professional advancement. Andrews (1993) further suggested that stereotypes and power struggles hamper memorizing existing procedures for fitting into departmental norms. These procedures were designed for a male cadre of professional academics who originally came from an elite class. African-American women were introduced into this environment without having any influence on its structure. Consequently, African-American women

had to develop alternative professional support structures to survive in this rarified academic environment.

Mentoring

According to Morrison (1992), a lack of mentors and role models is a barrier for white women and people of color. Mentoring in executive and managerial positions may be temporary or may last for long periods of time. One of the interviewees in Morrison's study responded: "the climate is not there yet to just walk in to be like one of the other people. Women and minorities have to be better, there's always someone raising the bar while you're in the air . . . I'm tired" (p. 43). Morrison (1992) summarized further accounts:

The pressure and isolation are not only exhausting, but they also combine to create another problem that represents a catch-22 for non-traditional managers, they do need help, they can't admit it and ask for help for fear of being written off as incompetent. On the other hand, because of the pressures to be consistently outstanding and the need to avoid serious mistakes, they're not asking for help can be suicide. (p. 43)

Therefore, development practices of mentoring and providing role models are needed for those attempting to rise beyond middle management. Recruitment practices are needed with those sensitive to developing tools and techniques conducive to the success of women in the organizations (Morrison, 1992). Also, there was a need for encouragement and partnership to provide support, challenges, and recognition for chance to succeed in a corporation. Morrison (1992) further studied the role mentors play in supporting women and people of color to encourage networking and not leaving mentoring to chance. Morrison (1992) concluded from the interviewees, "poor career

development is cumulative because as a career progresses, it becomes increasingly difficult to overcome low-profile or ill-conceived assignments” (p. 42). Likewise, “without the kinds of assignments that are considered prerequisites for senior management posts, nontraditional managers are likely to be overlooked” (Morrison, 1992, p. 42). The lack of mentoring makes for a vulnerable employee making poor career decisions. A reliable mentor can assist in negotiating and lobbying for promotion (Morrison, 1992).

Morrison’s interviews revealed that non-traditional managers are outnumbered by white men. “They are often a curiosity to their colleagues, who scrutinize their work, withholding information from them and sabotage their work in order to undermine them, the work environment a frustrating, draining advancement barrier” (p. 43).

At the university level, Hallock (1994) described the norm for career development as counseling when progress toward promotion and tenure is clearly unsatisfactory. According to Hallock (1994), to promote minority success, “administrators must recognize that the initial investment in a faculty member strongly influences productivity” (p. 72). Feedback, according to Hallock (1994) is limited to annual meetings not identifying problems early on in new careers. Collaborative projects and spending time assisting junior faculty should begin as soon as the hiring process is completed. Hallock (1994) found structures in place, particularly women and minorities, that were often overburdened with university and community service and mentoring students. Teaching is rewarded but proposals are turned down, resulting in non-tenure decisions toward a permanent position into the institution. A climate was not created for “seeking coaching” that would encourage whole faculty satisfaction and production (Hallock, 1994).

Parson, Sands, and Duane (1991) described the necessity to promote the development of mentoring programs to overcome the negative effect of the “chilly climate.” Parson et al. (1991) advised women to find a mentor who will provide encouragement and professional guidance.

Scholars suggested that mentoring can reduce alienation by helping women of color develop self-confidence, encourage them to take risks, and to take advantage of opportunities to increase their competence. For example, Wilson and Justiz (1988) provided a vivid example of this when they suggest that colleges and universities should respond immediately with improvements in policies, programs, and practices, with a significant movement from good intentions to actions.

The current organizational structure of the academy is designed to facilitate a competitive environment within which academic values focus on individual achievement as opposed to group achievement. Institutional values and mores mitigate against collaborative supportive efforts and reward individual achievement as opposed to collaborative mentoring efforts. The focus of the academy is on a “proper fit” of academic interests, professional interests, and service interests that enhance the existing departmental and university missions. Consequently, African-American women who do not have established research agendas and a program of grantsmanship that follow departmental dictates are separated out from the mentoring process. Howard-Vital and Morgan (1993) referenced Blackwell’s 1989 pilot survey sent to members of the Association of Black Women in Higher Education. Two hundred questions were sent to women whose names appeared on the 1989-1990 membership list of the Association of

Black Women in Higher Education (ABWHE), a national organization of approximately 481 women in the United States. The response rate was 28 %. A little more than half of the women responding (55 %) to the questionnaire identified themselves as administrators (assistant\associate deans, directors, coordinators, assistant to the president, vice president, or president\chancellor). Howard-Vital and Morgan (1993) argued that Black female faculty are still perceived by many to be the least powerful in society and in most organizations, rarely enjoying experiences of power or experience the inner working of an organization from the vantage point of an insider. Black females cannot depend on the "old boy network," therefore their mentoring experiences will be different (Howard-Vital & Morgan, 1993).

The respondents created a list that indicated some pertinent functions for mentors. The list included providing training; stimulating acquisition of knowledge; providing information about educational programs; providing emotional support and encouragement; creating an understanding of the educational bureaucracy and the ways one can maneuver within the system; inculcating, by example, a value system and a professional work ethic; providing informal instruction again by example about demeanor, etiquette, collegiality, and day-to-day interpersonal relations; helping the prodigy build self-confidence; heighten self esteem, and strengthen motivation to perform at one's greatest potential; and defending and protecting the prodigy, correcting mistakes, and demonstrating techniques of avoiding unnecessary problems. Institutionally-based, structured mentorship is a means of dispelling stereotypes, going beyond tokenism, and providing sustained support for

professional development and effectiveness in institutions of higher education (Howard-Vital & Morgan, 1993).

Professional Development

Peterson (1990) described professional development as “participation in associations and attendance at professional meetings . . . important elements of success” (p. 34). Cherbneau (1994) found that organizational managers and professionals believed developmental opportunities and career advancement are most important. Important purposes for many organizations should be aligned with organizational vision, mission, strategy, goals, values, and cultures as priorities. Culture and ideology are predictable (Apple, 1992). Women are often expected by their male colleagues to assume leadership roles in academic settings.

Cherbneau (1994) stated: “A major stumbling block to organizational and individual high performance has been the inability to [1] recognize, [2] value, [3] manage well, and [4] fully develop, utilize and benefit from the individual difference people bring to the workplace” (p. 315). Cherbneau (1994) continued to list the benefits the changing workforce brings to the workplace, multiple perspectives and enhancing innovative ways of solving problems resulting in organizational and individual career success.

Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) warn of the danger points common to the experience of women seeking professional autonomy and authority. Women tenured and non-tenured suffer serious compromise in the enactment of individual goals and values. Crucial benefits were derived from the support of other women. Aisenberg and

Harrington (1988) concluded that there was a shaping of the voice of authority capable of expressing knowledge and insight of frustration in transcending disciplinary boundaries, seeking social change, and paying the price.

“Feminist scholars have complained about the influence of an analogous type of biases in their research, hiring, and promotion experience” (Paelee, cited in Graves, 1990, p. 7). “From the moment a Black female accepts a faculty position at a predominantly white institution, she has a different job description than does her White male or female counter part.” (Graves, 1990, p. 7) “The institutional environment, thus can be enhanced for productive academic and career development for diverse groups” (Howard-Vital & Morgan, 1993, p.5). Herman (1998) stated, “limit your people, and you will lose them, deny them the opportunities for growth and career diversity, and they’ll move to another . . . position . . .” (p. 1)

Sustained support was necessary for career advancement. Some literature discussed the professional development effectiveness needed for faculty working in academe. Tucker (1984) discussed in great detail the chairperson’s role in developing and planning a development program with faculty members. This body of literature examines in detail how a supportive environment is conducive to professional development. This supportive environment begins at the departmental level. Periodicals such as The Department Chair discuss how department chairs play a pivotal role in the development of faculty members. This assistance included concerns for establishing a research agenda, publication, demonstrating improvements in teaching, as well as assisting the faculty member in the development of formative and summative evaluations (Francko, 1997).

Teaching evaluations are extremely important in helping the faculty member coordinate the teaching, research, and service aspects of the professorate (Watt & Murphy, 1996).

Therefore, professional development encompasses a wide range of traditional and non-traditional individual work relationships. Participating in associations and attending professional meetings are important elements for successful professional development. These opportunities are vital for building a professional network. African-American women faculty have a lower participation rate in such activities, which severely limits their ability to engage in collaborative research efforts, scholarly exchange, and grantsmanship. Dwindling budgets and heavy teaching loads limit the time African-American women faculty members have to pursue professional development and research activities (Peterson, 1990). Other complicating factors involved in professional development include the constraints surrounding the geographic location of white institutions African-American women are employed and other limiting factors such as the lack of consulting opportunities.

Diener and Owens (1984), who worked with staff members at the Institute of Higher Education, examined ways to improve academic environments that would increase the research participation of African-American women. The independence gained from these experiences would encourage a more flexible and productive career for African-American women.

Diener and Owens (1984) discussed a group of elements that would provide an environment conducive to structured participation in research and development to produce personal and professional growth:

1) a financial support system, 2) nutrients for growth, in the form of training or retraining with provisions for careful evaluation, equal perquisites of rank, and work with peers, 3) time for development, 4) access to mentors, 5) absence of undue stress, 6) commitment of those involved-trainers, counselors, and enrollees-in the program. (p. 492)

These activities would be a response to the “underrepresentation of women and ethnic minorities in Research and Development” (Diener & Owens, 1984, p. 492), and help them increase activities leading them to expert contributors in their respective fields

Internal Conflict

Career decisions for African-Americans have been based on a variety of variables. African-American women have always worked outside the home (Peterson, 1990). According to Peterson (1990) internal conflict has been one of the significant variables for African-American women competing for employment opportunities. Internal conflicts for African-American women are related to cultural values, work settings, and academic environments.

Paul and Schnidman (1994) focused on the elimination of personal prejudices as a force within an organization to value differences. Choices within organizational systems can only be shared out of the realm of a willingness to learn and provide opportunities to confront and explore untested beliefs about others. “Market ignorance” as Terry (1994) stated hampers the long-term understanding of implications excluding people from the marketplace. “Opportunity for all, becomes opportunity for some . . . underlying fear is failure, destruction . . . causing a dysfunctional, social disease, and illness that can infect the whole” (p.69). The lack of teamwork highlights the problems of individuals, creating an institutionally based sickness. (Terry, 1994).

The differing of self-interests drives deficiency exploitation, domination, and rigged institutional arrangement (Terry, 1994, p.71). Chesler (1994) accounted the differences gender, class, and race has in impacting people and organizations. Terry (1994) reported, attitudes, behavioral styles; ways of thing, and culture, translate into inadequate managerial structures. This conflict is not primarily the result of poor communications, inadequate managerial structure, poor coordination of task roles, or poor fit between person and organizations; it is primarily the result of systems of oppression and monopolies of racial and gender power in society and organizations (Terry, 1994, p.243).

Universities and institutions that recognize the internal conflicts experienced by faculty and colleagues would see the tremendous value in having women in administrative positions. These women administrators becoming role models would influence policy and the affairs of the institution (Hallock, 1994). African-American women in particular want to take the responsibility for their ideas and work responsibilities (Hallock, 1994).

Resources, commitment, and sensitivity can create an accomplished career for women and minorities. Household duties, career advancement, and attitudes of colleagues play a major role in the career decisions made by African-American women.

Carroll, Ellis, and McCrea (1991) surveyed faculty administrators of the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education Women's Consortium. The study focused on issues that create anxiety in determining professional career goals. Issues as networking empowerment and relationships with colleagues and students were gleaned from the study. Other needs consisted of advocacy, not only in accomplishment but also in relationships with others, followed by relationships with supervisors. Seeking support

to prevent vulnerability and accompanying activities evolving institutional participation in advocacy for women were crucial for survival.

“Organizations are dominant social forms and every institutional role and principle in all modern and modernizing societies encourages it as a proper form” (Meyer & Scott, 1983, p. 262). Therefore, Hoy and Miskel (1991) when studying organizational culture, see it as “an attempt to get at the fee, sense, atmosphere, character, or image of an organization” (p. 211). Frost, Moore, Louis, Lundberg, and Martin (1985) look at the notion that organizations have cultures, seen as attractive heuristic propositions, mediating between deterministic and volunteeristic models of behavior in organizations. Likewise, if the definition of organizational culture is searched for in research, there is the notion of organizations being unitary and unique cultures organized within work settings.

Bates (1987) points to culture as a state or process of human perfection or culture as the body of intellectual and imaginative work where human thought and experience are variously recorded, the “social” definition of culture giving a description of a particular way of life. This way of life expresses certain meanings, values, and learning in institutions and ordinary behavior. Culture is not something solely objective and external to individuals who constitute a particular society, class, or group. Bates (1987) indicates culture is carried, communicated, and shaped through individual attempts to understand, master, and participate in the life of the group and the organization.

Internal conflicts for African-American women are related to cultural values, work settings, and academic environments. Although African-American women have always

worked outside the home, they seldom had to compete for employment opportunities against African-American males.

Peterson (1990) found that African-American women faculty members often experienced internal conflict as they moved up the career ladder. African-American women faculty coped with anxieties and consequences of success. They grappled with the cultural values and subtle effects of being an African-American woman wanting to commit herself directly to the African-American community but working within a Historically White environment. One participant in Peterson's study stated that she must continually justify (to herself) her presence at a white university, when nearby black colleges needed faculty so desperately. This internal conflict is part of a continuing race/gender dilemma African-American women who teach at Historically White Institutions grapple with. On the one hand, they are privileged educationally, but on the other hand they are in a struggle over African-American group needs in higher education.

Peterson (1990) suggested a strategy for dealing with such conflict by taking the responsibility to share their ideas among their colleagues. This acceptance of responsibility and being open minded about their own cultural values--whatever their work setting--helped the black woman faculty member to realize the unique contributions they can make to the academic environment (Peterson, 1990).

The black woman has continued to work toward equality in the academy. Nevertheless, in doing so she has struggled with conflict, tension, confusion, and sometimes guilt in choosing jobs and behavior on the job site (Carey, 1990).

The black woman's attitude, which now has almost become the norm in American society, that work and family are compatible and often complementary, seems to be a factor in her success, since she has functioned in both spheres simultaneously (Carey, 1990).

Carey (1990) proclaimed that the constant use of the term "superwoman" complicated even further the perception of African-American women when confronted with disheartening situations. These so-called superwomen are expected to rise above any situation by their intuitive abilities regardless of environmental structures. The academy should not look at black women in mythic and depersonalizing terms. "The term superwoman calls to mind stereotypes of Black women as mammy, matrical, the castrating female at this level, the term is simply unavailable for critical use; indeed, it makes the reality of Black women's lives" (p. 15).

These stereotypes establish clear categorical functions for the African-American female academic. Again, the African-American woman is faced with challenges modeled after predetermined expectations and assumed results. The African-American woman must search the known responsibilities decided by others while coping with those responsibilities brought upon herself trying to satisfy dual needs. Stereotyping provides a neat compartmentalization for predictable behaviors expected by white administrators, colleagues, and students through which a functional understanding of the Black female professor can be made. The stereotypes create comfort zones for colleagues and administrators. Carey (1990) portrayed the challenges for Black women administrators as the ability to slip away from the superwoman image and learn all she can about the organization in order to become an active participant.

To stay comfortable within the confines of symbolic or token roles is to justify being treated as a token--highly visible but at the same time invisible and therefore powerless, and to overlook basic political realities at the heart of doing the business of an organization. (p. 17)

Work Life

Carroll, Ellis, and McCrea (1991) used terms as access to role models, self-conscious feelings about passive or aggressive behavior, and exclusion from the information network of their professions, as indicators of professional work experiences. Parson, Sands, and Duane (1991) refer to the climate for women faculty being with their status within the profession as an example of working conditions. Sanders and Mellow (1990) discussed the tendency to pigeonhole African-American women and bureaucratic structures that created formidable barriers to diversity for these women.

The work life for women tends to be couched in stereotypical roles creating conflicts between their own concepts and others' expectations of a working woman (Yang, 1998). Organizations can help women create a comfortable environment as-well-as build self-confidence through training and mentoring (Yang, 1998).

The combination of a certain level of employee decision rights, bureaucratic control, and goal identification defines employee involvement. These employees are under bureaucratic control, participants, or decision-makers in the organization (Charkavarthy & Gargiulo, 1998).

In work life situations as higher education, Erickson (1989) is able to define the range of available and desirable options and brief adoption of educational fads that range across diverse educational philosophies. Culture includes what members of a group think

about social action; culture encompasses alternatives for resolving problems in collective life. African-American women must work within the organizations explanation of its particular culture.

Ouci (1982) defines organizational culture as consisting of a set of symbols, ceremonies, and myths that communicate the underlying values and beliefs of that organization to its employees. "Cultures then that are formed out of the conflicts and the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic relations of body and meaning that organize and disorganize our daily lives will influence the livelihood of an organization" (Apple, 1992, p. 39). Work life situations are dictated by a prescribed way of doing things in a culture. Organizational culture as Hoy and Miskel (1991) see it is an ideology or tradition and belief of an organization that distinguishes it from other organizations and has a certain life infused into the skeleton of its structure. Gonzalez (1984) wrote of the unknown ways of doing things that you are either told about or must find out on your own and still not be privy to all the organizational information. Therefore, "fitting" becomes a challenge in how one conducts themselves in day-to-day activities.

When the African-American female works in a higher education environment, the territory presents work conditions with limited privileges, exclusion from scholarly activities, and little room for academic advancement. One example is in promotion and tenure procedures. Bassett (1992) found that African-American faculty started off with a disadvantage. She suggested:

It is difficult to keep up with ever changing procedures of an organization. Minority women learn the rules and the attempt to follow them carefully in the hope of being like everyone else and blending in. But as soon as you develop some expertise in the organization's rules, someone changes the rules. (p. 17)

When Andrews (1993) completed her research on negotiating success within the “old boy” network, her interviewees focused on pay equity, earning tenure, and juggling family and professional obligations as paramount, regardless of race or ethnicity. Out of the conversations with the women she interviewed, issues impacting tenure were dominated by racial discrimination and a type of role conflict and professional burnout.

Bassett (1992) stressed the difficulties women of color face because of attempting to excel in a workforce with limited resources. When looking at the ways policies and practices control opportunities, these women must understand the established system in order to empower each other to obtain academic promotion. Societal stereotypes and professional systems limit the career advancement of African-American women in Historically White institutions of higher education.

Olsen, Maple, and Stage (1995) surveyed the relationship between gender and minority status of faculty at a Research I institution. They also examined professional role interests, work satisfactions, and allocation of work time. They found that race and gender do affect important aspects of how a faculty member is able to succeed professionally. An examination of the link between the different measures of institutional support and the relationship with one’s department and the work context is predictive of minority faculty being African-Americans working for professional success. Secondly, Olsen et al. indicated a sense of personal control over one’s career and the satisfaction of academic work exercised a direct influence on success for faculty.

Davis (1994) addressed the issue of work life of the minority faculty who struggled to serve in non-supportive environments. Novice minority faculty recall being greeted

warmly at hiring. Over time, this warm environment turned cool and eventually gave way to one of silence.

Consequently, the academic environmental obstacles for African-American women operated on preplanned, institutional cultures and systems. Gonzalez (1994) characterized these obstacles as cultures one inherits while being unaware of their nature. These unknown cultures contradict the ideologies of the emerging power of African-American females as agents of knowledge, as self-defined, a self-reliant individual confronting race, gender, and class oppression, speaking to the thought that the pursuit of knowledge plays in ensuring power for oppressed people.

Issues framing the challenges African-American women are to contend, are contained in the experiences of isolation and professional conflicts. Peterson (1990) described these women as being set apart and not being encouraged. Paul and Schnidman (1994) indicated the asking of prejudged and organizational preferences to change primary anchors and promote images without altering the status quo.

In the study by Davis and Watson (1985), they found in their interviews that black women are not as threatening to the white male. Davis and Watson (1985) also found that changing the corporation so that African-American women can be other things and still hold serious corporate jobs is more difficult for African-American women than white women. Davis and Watson (1985) used corporate life as an example, they considered the “difference might arise in the fact that the two groups of women have stood in very different relationships to the American economy and this to in corporate life” (p. 135).

Further more, “many white women have been involved in corporate life as wives of men who ran corporations” (Davis & Watson, 1985, p. 135).

Part of the problem for African-American women to succeed professionally as Davis and Watson (1985) discovered is to the extent that this is still a white society, life is harder on black people. “[For] black women in corporate management, life is both hard and confusing, two strikes that the ambitious black women has against her” (Davis & Watson, 1985, p. 139).

It is critical to differentiate the experience of white women from women of color [black] so as to capture the multiple realities that women confront inside and outside the [an] organizational context. To avoid collapsing the experiences of a less powerful group in the experiences of a more dominant group, . . . reminds us of the multiple components and group memberships that constitute everyone’s identity as well as the social and political context in which each particular aspect is located. (Zane, 1994, p. 339)

Holvino (1994) found in her work, “White female managers [faculty, administrators] are thought of differently than black women and therefore face different problems in organizations [higher education]” (p. 53).

Challenges for the Future of African-American Women in Historically White Institutions of Higher Education

African-American women in higher education are challenging institutional stakeholders to formulate appropriate attitudes designed to improve the experiences of most African-American women participating in the institution. These women encourage stakeholders to develop Affirmative Action models for institutional development as well as procedures designed to enhance equality of opportunity and equality of outcome.

Stakeholders are also encouraged to develop planned strategies for promoting commitment within Historically White institutions of higher education.

Obiakor and Barker (1993) argued that “African-Americans face a myriad of fundamental problems in educational programs. These programs are tied to the ever-increasing politics prevalent in higher education” (p. 219). Research by Sanders and Mellow (1990) and Davis (1993) established reasons why it is important to continue the discussion of why Historically White institutions of higher education should care about African-American females.

Pyant and Yanico (1991) viewed the stressful experiences of black women when faced with attitudes affecting situations as threats or challenges. Attitudes and beliefs can serve as coping resources to help give a positive sense of self. Sanders and Mellow (1990) further stated that “only full inclusion of black women in the academy will provide the . . . clout and vision needed to create pluralistic institutions of higher education” (p. 9).

Contemporary African-American women, unlike their counterparts of the 1940s and 1950s are now seeking full inclusion in Historically White institutions of higher education. Women in the late 1960s were greatly influenced by the Woman’s Rights Movement and the Civil Rights Movement, which called for equal opportunity and social equality.

Affirmative Action

In order to achieve social and political equality, the decade of the 1970s saw Affirmative Action programs that were designed to enhance the number of minorities and

women in higher education throughout the United States. These Affirmative Action programs were designed to move society forward with positive changes for African-American women. Federal and state legislation enabled qualified women to gain employment in Historically White institutions of higher education. However, institutional culture, tradition, and mores served to effectively block progressive program changes that would positively include African-American women into the academy.

Fine, Johnson, and Ryan (1990) discussed the study of minority cultures. Recognizing the unique cultures of different gender and racial groups provides the basis for understanding what diversity means. Minorities identified interpersonal barriers as obstacles to their success. White men see formal structures and policies as eliminating any obstacles to success (Fine et al.).

Chamberlain's (1988) statistical collection reported subtle forms of discrimination against African-Americans that she believed would be hard to eradicate. According to Chamberlain, attitudes and behaviors that devalue women's achievements continue to be manifested inside the classroom and more widely on the campus. Chamberlain also reported:

When institutions searched for minority faculty members during the early days of Affirmative Action, this search lead to cynical manipulations. This cynicism was evident even in institutions sincerely interested in increasing minority representation on their faculties. One minority scholar reports that when she was interviewed for her first faculty position, faculty members who found that she could fill both a "minority slot" and a "female slot" looked at their array of goals to meet and asked [only partially facetiously], "you don't happen to speak Spanish, do you? (p. 50)

In contemporary lexicon, this type of remark is referred to as the “two-fers” and “three-fers” (Chamberlain, 1988). That is, African-American women are viewed as filling two Affirmative Action roles, that of a female and the role of the African-American.

On administrative levels as well, African-American women are confronted with a hostile set of attitudes regarding Affirmative Action hiring practices. One graphic illustration of this hostile culture was explained by Davis at the State University College (SUNY) at Buffalo:

Two years after assuming my first administrative position in a Historically White institution (HWI), a search committee member visited my office. He announced his resignation as an associate dean and voiced his interest in returning to the faculty. In our discussion he shared his misperception of me as an academic dean. He said:

We didn't want a strong dean for the new college. As department chairs, we wanted the upper hand in running the college. In fact, we thought that everybody was going to be happy when you were hired. The provost had his Affirmative Action candidate and we had a double guarantee for a weak dean. After all, you are black and female. (Davis, 1994, p. 38)

Obiakor and Barker (1993) presented a multifaceted approach to addressing the problems of African-Americans in academe. These authors argued that traditional strategies have failed to meet the needs of African-Americans. In essence, they argued that institutions must develop comprehensive plans that address minority issues from the undergraduate level and curriculum development to institutional expectations for minority scholars.

Wilson (1995) documented the backlash against Affirmative Action. Wilson's work included discussions on reverse discrimination and the reality of continued racism. Wilson discussed the presence of a White academic backlash to Affirmative Action even

though by every indicator, ie., acceptance to selective schools, hiring and full time tenure track positions and admittance into leading graduate schools, white males still did dramatically better than any other group (Wilson, 1995). However, in 1997, a backlash against Affirmative Action policies swept across institutions of higher education. A conservative political climate cultivated in the 1980s resulted in the appointments of ideologically conservative United States Supreme Court Justices and Federal District judges who established an Affirmative Action judicial philosophy based on strict scrutiny (Marshall & Scribner, 1991). Examples of this narrow interpretation of Constitutional law is reflected in court decisions that narrowed Affirmative Action initiatives. For example, Healy (1998) stated that in the Hopwood case, Texas attorney general Dan Morales ask a federal appeals court to lift the band on Affirmative Action on higher education in the state. The federal district judge explicitly barred the University of Texas School of Law from using racial preferences to admit students in order to enhance diversity on the campus.

One of the most controversial policies on Affirmative Action was developed by the University of California Board of Regents, who in effect eliminated any preferential treatment based on race in college admissions and government hiring. The impact of this new policy on admissions for the university system dealt with the number of students admitted in the fall of 1997. For instance the University of California at Berkeley saw its minority application drop from 75 black applicants and 44 chicano applicants to 14 black and 23 chicano applicants between 1996 and 1997 (Lederman, 1997).

The consequences of anti-Affirmative Action policies such as the Berkeley decision constitute a complex set of ideologies grounded in conservatism. Contemporary scholarly work reflects this new conservatism in a variety of ways.

Davis (1995) reviewed four books for her essays on Affirmative Action:

Reflections of an Affirmative Action Baby, Stephen L. Carter (1991); Invisible Victims: White Males and the Crisis of Affirmative Action, Frederick R. Lynch (1991); Affirmative Action at Work: Law, Politics, and Ethics, Baron Raymond Taylor (1991); and The Constitutional Logic of Affirmative Action, Ronald J. Fiscus (1992). Carter is representative of this conservative genre. As a privileged upper class African-American male, Carter is offended by Affirmative Action programs because he feels that African-Americans are somehow degraded because of Affirmative Action programs that lower the theoretical standards for admission to institutions of higher education. Yet, Carter was the beneficiary of Affirmative Action programs as a student at the Yale University Law School and as a faculty member in that law school. Carter laments Affirmative Action programs as establishing African-American academics as second class citizens, relying primarily on his own experience and insights.

Another example of this strand in the literature is Fiscus' work. Fiscus examined Supreme Court decisions regarding Affirmative Action to show the justices that Affirmative Action plans punish the innocent. The approach would shift the focus from questions of guilt or innocence to questions of right. This would provide a strong constitutional basis for Affirmative Action (Davis, 1995).

Taylor's work reported how employers convince individuals who perceive themselves to be unfairly disadvantaged by racial preferences. Taylor (cited in Davis, 1995) further explores attitudes toward the idea, practice, and rationales of Affirmative Action. These attitudes are explored through interviews, surveys, and participant observation at the California State Department of Parks and Recreation.

In this same tradition, Steele (1990), in his seminal book The Content of our Character, also laments Affirmative Action as providing the policy framework for failure and incompetence. His central theme is that all people, regardless of race, gender, and ethnicity, should be judged by their character, not on rewards that result from a government entitlement.

Strategies for African-American Women to Achieve in Historically White Institutions

Education is familiar ground for African-American women because it was always one of the few respectable professions open to them. In order for African-American women to achieve in Historically White institutions of higher education, they have to confront racism, sexism, and class discrimination. The halls of the academy have not provided a safe sanctuary for these women (McKay, 1997). Therefore, it is understood that if African-American women are to participate in the cultural world of Historically White institutions of higher education, strategies must be developed to help these women McKay (1997) stated:

In White universities and colleges, these women experience the workplace as one of society's exclusive clubs to which, even though they have as much right as everyone else to be there, they will never gain full membership-at least, not in the lifetime of this generation of scholars. (p. 21)

Atwater (1995) listed strategies for African-American women designed to transform the university culture so that they and their colleagues can develop professionally. These strategies include such techniques as identifying White leaders whom they can educate about the oppressive environments found in many institutions. A second strategy was to support departmental, school, college, and institutional goals, while not acting to maintain oppression. Third, problems experienced within the institution should be routed directly to an administrator so that first hand knowledge could enable administrators to suggest possible solutions. A fourth strategy was to attend to all appropriate department, college, and institution-wide meetings. The last strategy for African-American female faculty members was to accept that they may endure a lack of recognition for changes in the institutional culture that results from their efforts.

These strategies require strong institutional support for the African-American female. In this regard, Atwater (1995) suggested improvement strategies specifically for administrators and other faculty members. A public stance by administrators to support diversity coupled with a demonstration of commitment would stimulate the transformation of institutional culture and its beliefs regarding diversity. A public institutional program, supported by white faculty members and administrators, to educate themselves about the needs of African-American female faculty members is essential. In the interim, administrators should give serious thought about the effects policy changes will have on African-American female faculty members in their institutions. Informing African-American female faculty members about policy changes and revisions both at the departmental level and the institutional level is imperative for keeping open the lines of

communication. “White faculty members and administrators should adopt a “conscious-keeping” role for the institution, rather than leaving that role to be played solely by African-American female faculty members” (Atwater, 1995, pp. 282-283).

These strategies for the successful development of the African-American woman in the academy is not exhaustive; however, it does help explain the role that the institution can play in facilitating a more equitable power relationship within the institutional culture by keeping African-Americans aware of policy issues. This particular approach empowers the African-American woman to reach her professional self-actualization within the confines of a dominant professional culture. This dominant professional culture is a culture that sustains male values of competition which exclude alternative approaches to institutional development.

In conclusion, Peterson (1990) suggested that:

The black woman faculty member is faced with many challenges in the academic environment. She is considered a role model for young black women, but does not usually have a large support group to share her own needs and concerns. . . . The effects of isolation, barriers to professional development, and internal conflict may be lessened if institutions cultivate greater cultural awareness within their own communities. (Peterson, 1990, p. 35)

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

This study of African-American women faculty employed within Historically White colleges and universities in Virginia used a qualitative research methodology grounded in the in-depth interview technique. The qualitative research method of in-depth interview was chosen in order to document the experiences of these women in a holistic fashion. In this respect, qualitative methodology enabled the researcher to cover variables that describe the interconnectedness of personal and professional elements impacting upon these African-American women.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) argued that the qualitative or interpretative paradigm provides compelling outcomes.

The most compelling argument is to stress the unique strengths of this paradigm for research that is exploratory or descriptive, that assumes the value of context and setting, and that searches for a deeper understanding of the participants' lived experiences of the phenomenon. (p. 39)

Examples of the qualitative research approach using the in-depth interview technique have provided a richly complex explanation and analysis of African-American women in academic settings from their own perspective. One illustration of this unique methodology is Payne's (1985) doctoral dissertation. Payne used a qualitative data collection method in an effort to understand the life and professional experiences of African-American women faculty members in state and state-related Pennsylvania institutions of higher education.

Qualitative research is useful in establishing categories for phenomenological discovery. According to Polkinghorne (1991), qualitative methods are especially useful in the “generation of categories for understanding human phenomena and the investigation of the interpretation and meaning that people give to events they experience” (p. 31).

Marshall and Rossman (1995) also described the in-depth interview as research that examined:

A few general topics to help uncover the participants’ meaning perspective, but otherwise respects how the participant frames and structures the responses. This, in fact, is an assumption fundamental to qualitative research-the participant’s perspective on the phenomenon of interest should unfold as the participant views it, not as the researcher views it. (p. 80)

This in-depth interview technique of research attempted to glean a better understanding of participants working within Historically White public institutions of higher education in Virginia. Therefore, broad-based avenues of inquiry comprised the format for the research questions. These avenues included the following;

1. What are the professional activities of the participants?
2. What perception do participants have of themselves?
3. What do participants perceive as institutional barriers that hamper or prevent career advancement?
4. What do the participants perceive are the attitudes held by colleagues then?
5. What are the work conditions of the participants?

These interview avenues were developed specifically as a format for gathering data during the interviews. Each avenue listed above also included sub-questions.

Participants for these interviews were encouraged to discuss experiences, characteristics, activities, and work life situations. The questionnaire for the interviews was designed by the researcher with the assistance of the dissertation faculty committee, and was based on conversations with an ethnographic educational researcher and a sociologist. A professional interviewer with a doctoral degree in counseling assisted the researcher on how to listen to participants and extract their views on the specific topics.

All interviews were audio taped with the permission of the participants. The written dialogue was transcribed. The audio tapes and transcribed data were reviewed by Dr. Zina McGee, Associate Professor of Sociology, Hampton University, to assure accuracy in the stenographer's records. (see Appendix A). All parties agreed to the confidentiality of all audio taped and transcribed materials.

Selection of Participants

To add to the growing body of literature on African-American women in the academy, this dissertation focused on Historically White public institutions of higher education in The University of Virginia System. The University of Virginia System is comprised of 15 colleges and universities. Two of these institutions were not included in this study because they are Historically Black institutions, Norfolk State University and Virginia State University. Each of the remaining 13 institutions received letters of invitation to participate in the study. These institutions included a wide range of Carnegie-defined institutions of higher education. The Carnegie Classification System include the following categories:

Major Research Universities - institutions that awarded more than 50 doctoral

degrees and received more than \$10 million in federal obligations to support research and development in the last fiscal year.

2. Other Doctoral - Granting Universities - Institutions that awarded doctoral degrees in the most recent year.

3. Comprehensive Universities - Institutions that are authorized to award degrees primarily at both the baccalaureate and master's level.

4. General Baccalaureate Universities - Institutions that are authorized to award degrees primarily at the baccalaureate level. (Consent Decree, 1979, pp. 4-5)

African-American women currently hold 98 full-time teaching positions in the state of Virginia. Fifty-one of those tenured African-American female faculty teach in Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 47 are currently tenured faculty members in Historically White public institutions.

To obtain the names of African-American female faculty, the researcher contacted the Historically White public institutions listed on the State Council of Higher Education for Virginia's (SCHEV), November 13, 1997, Fall, 1996 Staff Survey. This survey listed African-American female tenured faculty.

Upon receipt of the SCHEV (1997) survey, each university attorney's office was contacted by mail and requested to provide information on tenured African-American females employed by the university. The researcher sent a letter of introduction to the individual university attorney's office and requested the names, addresses, and departments of all African-American, female, tenured faculty members (see Appendix B).

The researcher specified that only tenured, African-American female faculty members employed during the academic year of 1996-1997 and tenured at that particular university should be identified. Nine institutions (69 %) responded favorably. One institution (8 %) had no African-American females employed during the time of the study, while another institution indicated that it would not participate unless a *quid pro quo* could be established with the University of Tennessee Board of Regents. It appears that this particular institution wanted a guarantee that its students could interview the University of Tennessee System's personnel upon request. Finally, one institution refused to provide the names of African-American women faculty.

Out of the 47 female faculty members in the Historically White, public institutions, 18 African-American women were identified by their respective institutions as possible candidates to be interviewed. Letters of introduction were sent to each faculty member on the list (see Appendix C). Those respondents who met the race, gender, and tenured status requirements were selected for the structured in-depth interview.

Nine (50%) of the African-American women responded to the researcher's communications. Interviews were scheduled according to the wishes of the interviewee. One interview took place in the home of a participant, all other interviews took place in the participants' office on campus. One woman scheduled an interview but did not arrive at the designated time for the interview in her office. An additional tenured African-American woman faculty member verbally agreed to an interview but later refused to be interviewed. Consequently, seven (39%) of the total number of tenured faculty in Historically White public institutions of higher education in Virginia were interviewed.

Due to the delicate nature of this project, it must be understood that many of the women who were eligible to be interviewed chose not to participate due to professional concerns relating to exposure. Being the only African-American woman with tenure on a campus places the respondent in a precarious situation which may lead to a hostile environment that may prevent further advancement. For example, four of the 13 institutions (31 %) under review had one tenured African-American female on its faculty. Two institutions (15 %) had two tenured African-American women faculty members. One institution (8%) had three tenured African-American women faculty members. Two institutions (15 %) had five tenured African-American women faculty members. One institution (8%) had 10 and one (8%) had 13 tenured African-American women faculty members.

Development of Interview Protocol

Qualitative interview protocol requires that the researcher record responses to a set of structured questions. Rudestam and Newton (1992) stated that “Qualitative implies that the data are in forms of words as opposed to numbers. “ (p. 31). Using Rudestam and Newton’s (1992) focus, the qualitative method of in-depth interview was used for this dissertation.

The literature review on African-American women in higher education was used to develop the structured in-depth interview questions. Questions developed for the interview were neutral and revolved around the five broad avenues chosen for the research study (see Appendix D).

Questions were selected that addressed the experiences and work life these women encountered as they moved up the tenure track. Elements from previously constructed avenues of questioning in earlier dissertations by Woods-Fouche (1982) and Payne (1985) were used as a guide in this research.

Interview results by the participants were searched for similarities based on the research questions and analyzed by the QSR NUD*IST (NIRAC, 1997) software package for similarities in participant responses. QSR NUD*IST software is a data collection software package that correlates redundancies and multiple responses to multiple sets of structured questions.

Qualitative analysis provides a unique framework to study this limited population of respondents. The African-American woman's experience in higher education dictates that case study approaches be used to articulate those experiences. The number of African-American women is so small that the only way to ferret out their experiences is through qualitative research.

The Interview Experience

Each interview was unique. In the first moments the researcher had to clarify the purpose of the interview in order to keep the process focused. All of these African-American females were perfect strangers who allowed the researcher, an outsider, to come in and examine their work life environments. Several of the women were initially resistant to the interview because they had forgotten that they had signed a release stating that they would participate. Some of them confessed they thought the researcher was non-African-

American and felt more relaxed to see the researcher was a “sister”. One interviewee even called another colleague on campus to tell them that the researcher was African-American.

Artificial obstacles such as the interview length, busy schedules, and community obligations were presented by some women. The interviewer had to convince the interviewees that it was imperative to meet and that, even though the interviewer would have to drive four hours twice for the same school, interviews could be set at the convenience of the faculty members’ schedule. Whether there was fear or just uncertainty in trusting the interviewer, it was apparent that successfully completing a study of this nature required a trusting rapport to be established between the researcher and the interviewees.

CHAPTER 4 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

This qualitative investigation was conducted to determine the experiences of tenured African-American female faculty members within Historically White, public institutions of higher education in Virginia. The research technique used was an in-depth interview as defined by Marshall and Rossman (1995). This study sought to develop a portrait of the career paths; teaching experiences; institutional experiences; and the participants' community, personal, and work life activities.

A request was made to interview the seven participants in their respective university office environments. One faculty member declined and asked that the interview take place in her home. The interviews varied from 30 minutes to 2 hours. The interviewees controlled the length of the interview time.

Background Information

Because of the limited number of African-American tenured women faculty who agreed to be interviewed, anonymity was protected. Pseudonyms were used to identify participants and their responses. People and places were deleted from the participant responses (Janice Carter, Ph.D.; Tia Thomas, Ph.D.; Marilyn Moore, Ph.D.; Lucy Fox, Ed.D.; Lilly Hobbes, Ph.D.; Faye Holder, Ph.D.; and Evelyn Taylor, M.A.). Evelyn Taylor, the only woman without a terminal degree, teaches in a non-traditional setting at the university.

These women represent major academic disciplines in the academy. For example, their content areas included four in the “helping” professions, one in the hard sciences, one in the professional studies area, and one in a liberal arts discipline.

Two women in the study were in their late 30s, two were in their early 40s, one woman was in her late 40s, one was in her early 50s, and one was in her late 50s.

Educational Background

The interviewees were educated in undergraduate programs that represented a variety of experiences which ranged from Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the south to an Ivy League university in the northeast. Of the seven women interviewed, three attended Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the south, one attended a small rural Ivy League institution, two attended a small Historically White southern institution, and one participant attended a large northern historically White suburban university.

On the graduate level, of the seven women interviewed, two attended a Research University I institution, while two attended Doctoral University I institutions for doctoral work. One interviewee attended a Medical School for her doctoral work. One interviewee attended an institution for doctoral work that was not listed in the Carnegie Classification Definitions. One woman obtained a master’s degree from a Research University I. One of the women received an undergraduate degree from a Virginia public institution, one earned an undergraduate degree from a private institution in Virginia, and one received a doctoral degree from a Virginia institution. The other four women obtained doctoral degrees from Michigan or Missouri.

Overall, six women interviewed had similar experiences with obtaining doctoral degrees. Commonalities found in their experiences included receiving encouragement from a faculty member working on projects in their related areas. Interviewees indicated that they found difficulty in making choices concerning graduate school settings. One interviewee tried more than one program before setting into a successful graduate school experience. Only one interviewee mentioned starting three degree programs before obtaining her Ph.D. One of the seven women interviewed is tenured but does not have a doctoral degree. Each of the seven interviewees was given a structured in-depth interview. Through this interview procedure, the interviewer examined characteristics, career paths, work life, activities, and perceptions for the future.

Participant Characteristics

African-American women in the academy possess a complex array of traits that define them as professionals and members of a larger community. They are members of a unique culture that has been a guiding force in their insistence on the right to participate in their chosen professions. What follows is a case-by-case analysis of the interviews conducted with these women.

The personalities of these women were reflected in their conversation and in their work in institutions of higher education. Dr. Janice Carter was a hometown girl entrenched in the political games associated with academe. Her essence was one of hard work and long hours. The interview took place at 8:00 p. m. because Dr. Carter had church choir practice, telephone appointments with two families related to her family [name of business deleted] business, and a report due to be submitted to the city the next

morning. The hour-long interview was conducted in her home so that she could be accessible to community members while the interview was conducted. She had a variety of books and programs scattered on the coffee table, reflecting her academic work. The telephone rang constantly and her pager beeped often. A call from a grieving neighbor abruptly ended our interview.

Dr. Tia Thomas was interviewed after Dr. Janice Carter. These women worked at the same school and discussed some of the same issues. Dr. Thomas kept being interrupted by students and her telephone. She continued to make a point about where her life should be heading. She discussed her thoughts concerning moving to another university, moving to a Historically Black College or University, and finding ways to do research with a colleague at another university. She would gaze past me to the window on the other side of the room and reminisce about past accomplishments, trials with tenure, and possible career changes.

Ms. Evelyn Taylor, the non-traditional, tenured, teaching faculty member talked of several techniques she used to survive and fit the work environment. She explained that her experiences in retail sales had been predominantly customer service, so she knew how to deal with the public, even though she really did not feel like being bothered with them. She knew how to fake it. This is how she survived her environment. She made it clear that she had been interviewed many times before and understood the routine. Keeping her on-track with the questions was very challenging. The interview was conducted on another floor because the participant said her office had thin walls and she would be able to answer questions better in a more secluded area of the building.

Dr. Faye Holder was a woman with a seasoned demeanor filled with self-confidence. Her academic background and work ethic were exemplified by the publications on her shelf and her personal web page. She was doing the widest variety of jobs at the university level of all the women interviewed.

Dr. Lucy Fox was confident about her current work situation. She explained that the presence of other females in leadership positions had taken some of the burden off of her while teaching at this Historically White state university. She spoke of needing help in time management because of her involvement with the students. She also was trying to contact a colleague at another university while we were interviewing. Just as the interviewer asked her about her scholarly goals, a friend e-mailed her to discuss a possible research project. Dr. Fox had not been able to work with colleagues on her campus and knew how important it was for her to get on with the publishing agenda if she planned to apply for promotion. The interviewer was interrupted by two students wanting to check their project outlines.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes, who was interviewed in her laboratory, was a very confident, relaxed woman. She asked the interviewer to wait because a student she was tutoring needed emergency assistance in order to complete his paper for a presentation that afternoon. She introduced him and proceeded to leave the interviewer in the hall while they discussed his topic. Once the interviewer began the interview, she explained that this was a typical day and she had already taught three labs that day.

Dr. Marilyn Moore was a distinguished-looking professor. Her quiet demeanor demanded respect. Because she was soft-spoken, it was hard for the interviewer to

understand all of her comments at the time of the interview, but a review of the tape recording allowed the interviewer to capture her thoughts. This was a very active woman, not only on campus but on the regional and national scene as well.

To look at the characteristics of these women and obtain a feeling of the personal confidence level of these women, the interviewer posed three questions: (1) Describe who you are, or characteristics of yourself, in regard to your present position. (2) What perception do you have of yourself concerning confidence in regard to gender issues? (3) Who are your role models and/or mentors? What are their vocations or occupations?

Participant Career Path

While pursuing the necessary master's degree or terminal degree for working in higher education, these women hardly seemed to have had time for to think about careers. Their energies were spent on trying to complete degree programs and therefore were not concentrating on the final product employment. One participant spoke of her career path as a "path of default." These women had varied experiences, characterized by significant differences in time periods served and in locations of jobs. Their career paths were a combination of professional training, educational internship experiences, and job-related practical experiences.

Dr. Lucy Fox described her career choice:

Sometimes I think of it as the path of default . . . dissertating was the worst time of my life . . . I hardly had time to think beyond that, so now one day I woke up and my advisor said, "You need to start thinking about a job," so at that point I just looked in the *Chronicle* and really had no idea what I was looking for . . . I found this job.

In articulating her career choice, Evelyn Taylor said:

I wanted to be a career diplomat. I wanted to be in the foreign service when I was an undergraduate . . . I went back to [my alma mater] . . . for my 5-year reunion in 1986 and I realized I had various jobs, mostly in retail, [but] that I really liked the academic environment. I worked for department store chains. So I just happened to meet a woman who either, . . . was . . . the wife or the date of an alumnus who I really didn't know that well either, actually. We were chatting; and as it turned out she was a librarian, and she was a librarian there on the campus . . . And it suddenly occurred to me, because I had considered actually being a professor, but quite frankly I didn't do that well academically at college. I had less than a 3.0, so I knew my chances of getting into a graduate program out of undergraduate was not good, even with Affirmative Action. You know, a 2.3 just isn't good enough, but it suddenly occurred to me, well I may not be able to get into a Ph.D. program, but maybe I can become a librarian and work in a college library. This had never occurred to me before, because I spent time in the library as an undergraduate, but I didn't interact with the librarians. I just went there to use the materials or just study. It didn't occur to me that yes, there were librarians in those libraries on college campuses, and that's the way I came to work in the library. I knew I wanted to work in an academic environment.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes thought of her career path as a simple employment process: "I just got my Ph.D. and then I did a three-year postdoctoral fellowship, and then I got this job."

Dr. Holder made other career choices.

Well, it was something of a promotion, I guess. . . . And I wasn't particularly happy in the department, . . . but I wasn't actively looking for a position. . . . Somebody recommended me, and they called me and I thought, okay, let me check it out. I have never lived [in the] South and so I wasn't quite sure that I wanted to. . . . I presented them with what it would take to make me leave . . . and came here and my feeling was pretty much that I didn't want to make a lateral move. I was coming up for tenure . . . the next year, so it was sort of like if you can't do something for me, then there's no point in my leaving. . . . I may or may not have gotten tenure, but at least I was close enough to do it. So what I asked was that I be promoted to associate professor and be compensated at that rank, and that I would be allowed to stay pretty much on my same tenure clock . . . finish my book . . . first semester off.

Other women used a combination of career path experiences that brought them to Historically White, public institutions in Virginia. Dr. Marilyn Moore shared her career path experiences as a combination of training and education:

I started out my undergraduate preparation. I completed a diploma program which is a hospital-based school of nursing, and ten years after completing that diploma I went back for a baccalaureate degree and . . . continued for a Master's of Science degree in nursing and went directly on from that to a doctorate in nursing . . . I took a job as administrative associate with the American Nurses Association minority fellowship program in Washington. Primarily it was to allow me the opportunity to look around before deciding on the faculty position that I wanted to take. After that year, I settled on coming to Virginia and assumed the job.

Dr. Tia Thomas took a more direct career path to her present position with a Historically White institution of higher education. That path included obtaining the necessary credentials, obtaining a bachelor's degree, a master's degree, and [a] Ph.D., and positions as an administrator in two different settings [plus] field [name of project deleted] experiences.

On the other hand, Dr. Carter in her career path choice, decided to get [her] my doctorate just to see if I could get it and . . . I finished it, I guess I started in 1991, and finished in 1993. . . . I never thought I would ever teach, because both of my parents were teachers and I said that's something I don't want to do, but I kind of backed into teaching. I guess it's in my blood.

The women were asked if they would take the same career path to arrive at their present position. Two of them felt that they would choose the same career path, but with different attitudes. Dr. Thomas, Dr. Carter, and Dr. Moore were not certain they could choose the same career path again. Dr. Thomas commented:

I'm not positive. I think there would be a few changes. I do want to share those. One immediate change would probably be in higher education. I don't believe that I would return, given what I know now, to obtain a degree in social policy and social work. I truly believe that law may have been the area of study for me.

Dr. Janice Carter's response contained some of the same sentiments as Dr.

Thomas's. Dr. Carter responded:

Probably not. I might have gotten my doctorate earlier and probably in teaching. I was technically a clinician. I was a . . . social worker for years in private practice, group practice, the whole bit, and had a really strong clinical background, which I thoroughly enjoyed. But I think if I had to do it over again, I'd probably . . . well, I started my Ph.D. several times [but] the game playing was more than I wanted to deal with at the time. It was also during the civil rights movement, and having people to jerk you around was not the thing that black folk were allowing white folk to do to them at that time. But if I had to do it over again, I probably would get the terminal degree and started teaching earlier so I could be retired by now.

Dr. Marilyn Moore was the third participant who was not sure about her chosen career path. She replied:

Probably not. I think one of the reasons I opted for going the route with the diploma program versus going directly to a baccalaureate was finances. . . . The diploma route was economical, and then also at the time I received a scholarship, so it was quite affordable.

The foregoing responses illustrate the diversity of opinion articulated by these women to achieve a common goal. These expressions of experiences indicate the power of self to achieve an educational goal. In the next section the interviewer deals in more detail with the issues of self.

Examination of Self

The participants were asked to describe themselves in regard to their present positions. Key points describing "self" centered around their responsibilities, the issue of game playing, and the amount of energy used daily to work in their particular environments. These African-American women were busy and structured, and performed multiple roles on campus as faculty members. Specifically, their responsibilities were

associated with their titles and distributed through their teaching loads. Four of them taught at the undergraduate and graduate levels in their institutions.

In her position as an associate professor in one of the helping fields, Dr. Marilyn Moore stated: “[The] responsibilities associated with the titles are that I teach in both undergraduate and the graduate levels, both master’s and doctoral level students. As a person, I would describe myself as structured and organized, soft-spoken, determined.”

Dr. Tia Thomas serves as an assistant professor in one of the helping fields. She exerted an enormous amount of energy during the interview through the use of her hands and her facial expressions. She described herself as:

Energetic, I’m the person who doesn’t want to see anyone fail . . . Therefore, I give additional hours or instruction to my students outside of the classroom. I’m a person who is continuing to grow. I truly do know now that I don’t know everything, that I have a lot to learn. And that’s exciting. I can’t read enough books now, especially since it’s not mandatory.

The reflections of Dr. Faye Holder as an associate professor in one of the disciplines in the liberal arts, were those of a very busy woman. She has aspirations of doing more for herself but understands the importance of what she was hired to do. She described her situation:

I’m a very busy woman. Too busy. You know, I’m not quite what I want to be, because some of the things I do, I do because I think they’re necessary. For example, we just started a concentration, . . . in African-American Literature . . . black studies. . . . I’m directly in it because we don’t have any money and you can’t hire a director if you have no money, so I said that I would do it for a course release, . . . At the same time I’m the [position] of the . . . department, which is also administrative, so I’m doing a lot of administrative work and I’m not administrative work person. That’s not where I’m happy. Where I’m happy’s writing and doing my own research and teaching . . . because, again, who I am is a person who loves to write and I like to do research, and I do like to teach.

Dr. Lucy Fox, associate professor in one of the human development fields, indicated that her schedule revolved around her students. She argued that the students are the source of who she is. She planned her work and her ambitions with the students as her focal point. Yet she reminded herself of how she must organize her activities so that time spent with students does not prevent her from moving forward in some of her other academic responsibilities. She states: “ Well, I’m a teacher, I’m advisor to three student organizations . . . it’s so time-consuming . . . I’m sometimes a chauffeur. Being at a white institution, a African-American faculty person at a white institution, I think African-American students have greater expectations of me.”

Dr. Janice Carter, an associate professor in one of the liberal arts disciplines, examined her professional career in a white institution as an experience that included extensive game playing. She suggested:

Well, there is a lot of game playing in academia. I’ve got to decide what I want to do. . . . I’m a workaholic. . . . I guess I have some credibility and status on campus. They think I’m a little crazy, but that’s something I found that’s been necessary to be to get folk to listen to you.

Ms. Evelyn Taylor, assistant professor in one of the professional studies areas, is a member of the teaching faculty in her university. She is a tenured faculty member with nontraditional teaching responsibilities, but she nonetheless will be required to meet all standards needed for promotion when she goes through that process. Ms. Evelyn Taylor shares that her previous work experiences in retail and customer service conditioned her perspective for her current role as a faculty member. She said:

Part of it [teaching in an Historically White institution] has to do with the fact that my jobs in retail were predominantly customer service, so I know how to deal with

the public, even though I really don't feel like being bothered. . . . I know how to fake it, and for the most part I really do like college students.

These reflections summarize how African-American women were introduced to academic life. Their experiences are varied, yet represent a common thread that runs through the fabric of academic life. The concerns for promotion and tenure, research, and teaching all combine to produce a unique set of opportunities and challenges for these women.

These challenges cannot be separated from race and gender. In the next section the interviewer will examine how gender issues influence issues of "self" as expressed by the study participants.

Examination of Gender Issues

The character of these African-American female faculty members exemplified confidence concerning gender issues. The women were asked by the interviewer, "What perception do you have of yourself concerning confidence in regard to gender issues?"

All seven women exhibited high self-confidence levels. One participant described her father as the reason she had such high self-confidence. Dr. Lucy Fox said that she had not really thought about gender issues. It became more obvious as the interviews proceeded that race was more of an issue than gender for their current academic positions.

Dr. Marilyn Moore rated herself as having a moderately high self-confidence level. She stated:

I guess if I had to rate myself in terms of confidence, I would rate myself as moderately high. I don't think any less of myself in terms of how I do my job associated with being a female. I think that I am just as capable as a man if I were a man, operating in the same position.

Dr. Lucy Fox had a very secure and casual attitude about gender issues at her particular university because females serve in leadership positions. She stated:

I don't really have any problems with gender issues here, because we have so many females who are in leadership positions, so gender is not a real big deal here. We have just as many females heading up departments or academic affairs, [so] that's not a problem here. But [being] minority, that's a problem here.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes did not feel she was naive about the status of women on her campus but she did not see gender as a hindrance. She responded:

[I have not] given much thought to gender, I think, as being a hindrance or a help. . . . I'm not naive to think that things like race and gender don't play a part, but for me I just don't allow it to play a major part of whatever it is I attempt to do.

Dr. Faye Holder explained that she had a high level of gender self- confidence. She explained how she used her character and gender issues to help her students grow to deal with diverse populations. Dr. Holder went on to express that she did have "shaky" feelings regarding race. She defined these gender and race encounters to be teachable moments for her students. Therefore, she stated:

[Or] in spite of gender? I think I'm pretty confident. I think that I'm more inclined to feel on less solid ground in terms of racial issues than I am in terms of gender issues, although as I'm always teaching my students, they are tied up. I mean, they are really bound in such a way that it's hard to separate them out. But I do think that the difficulties that I encounter I feel are more because of racial problems than because of gender. So I think that I'm a really pretty confident person as a woman. I think I'm pretty confident anyway, but I think that when I run into snag, I think that those snags are pretty much the snags I think I've run into because of race.

Dr. Tia Thomas responded to the question on self-confidence as related to gender:

Interesting question. In terms of confidence, I know better than to say this, but I'm going to say it anyway, and that is . . . I see myself as the superwoman. That superwoman [image] transcends into my personal life, into my employment, into all of time. . . . In my current position, I'm able to share a part of my [self with my] students and I think that's because I am a woman. I let my students know in terms

of sharing that it's important to be a woman. It's important for me to have or to serve in certain roles as a woman. Now that's not every woman. It doesn't mean that I don't have certain feminist perspectives, because I do, but I also think there are certain roles for females and I thoroughly enjoy them. One is being a mother. But on the other hand, and that's just one of the roles, where my feminism comes out is that I have been able to achieve and be a mother and be a wife and a daughter, civic leader, social leader, etc. I have not allowed general barriers to cause me not to achieve. And let me tell you that there have been many barriers, especially in terms of higher education, that could have caused me to simply come home and be mom.

Dr. Janice Carter had specific thoughts about the confidence issues in regard to gender. Her family experiences had given her a strong foundation to cope with situations concerning gender. She stated:

My Daddy was a feminist and he didn't know it. . . . I don't have any problems with confidence. . . . There are two girls in my family, and my mother. Both of my parents were professionals. I was always told I would do anything I wanted to do except become a doctor. . . . But my daddy didn't want me to go to medical school because at that time they were very, very hostile to women and they were particularly hostile to Negro women. . . . Later on, he realized that perhaps that wasn't the best move. . . . What kinds of obstacles have you had to overcome? When I went into state government, I was the first black female in middle management, and, you know, white men used to tell me things like I made too much money and I wasn't a family person, I didn't have a family and I didn't have anybody to take care of and there was no reason for me to make that kind of money.

I've probably run into more racial issues than gender issues. When I came in the state into more government, that was an old-boy system and they did not want to deal with women, and I'm not sure that . . . there aren't some hangovers from that whole kind of mindset. . . . But I basically can get through to folk when I need to be heard, so I don't think the gender issue has really been a primary factor in my progress.

Ms. Evelyn Taylor answered the question on gender confidence as not being an issue. She did state, however, that gender issues are noticeable with male colleagues when in departmental meetings. She explained:

But one place where I finally noticed that it does come up, and I'm one of these people, by the way, things can be going on and I'm not always aware of them

because I'm wool gathering or whatever . . . it finally occurred to me that two of my male colleagues . . . very opinionated . . . they have not been particularly politically correct or popular.

Overall, the women consistently mentioned gender and race as inter-related issues. There was an inability to speak about one without speaking about the other. Their work environments exposed them to issues of race and gender. Yet, the confidence level of the seven women provided them with the ability to use these instances of gender and race confrontation as teaching situations, as well as opportunities to protect themselves from hostile work environments.

Examination of Role Models and Mentors

Examples of role models and mentors were gleaned from the profiles of the women. The participants referenced professors, deans, parents, aunts, brothers, writers, white men, national personalities, and teachers as role models and mentors. The family or a relative appeared to be the most popular, if not the most influential, role model or mentor affecting the career paths of these women.

The participants were asked to describe their role models and mentors. Of the seven interviewees, three mentioned family members as role models. Two women described the impact of well-known personalities on their lives, namely Angela Davis, Sojourner Truth, and various African-American playwrights. Two interviewees said that white men mentored them in some way. The interviewer's meetings with the participants revealed the following data concerning role models and mentors.

Dr. Janice Carter discussed how role models and mentors were early influences on her decisions concerning her professional career. She encountered a variety of

personalities and committed persons in her field, and experienced a variety of role models, including her parents. She said:

I guess my mom and dad were role models because they were retired schoolteachers. . . . My first teacher when I was five years old. There was a woman in Richmond . . . who was a social worker,, and I thought she walked on water, and I think she was probably a role model. So most of my contacts have all been people that I could actually reach out and touch. I worked with some fantastic men, like . . . a psychiatrist at Harlem Hospital . . . a community psychiatrist of Harvard. These were all people who were very comfortable with themselves and, therefore, they are happy to share with me and excited by my interest in learning, and they were just always there for me, they took a lot of pride in my work, they were very encouraging, and they let me do things that many social workers were not doing at that time.

Dr. Faye Holder also had a diverse group of role models and mentors. She used their impact to assist her in making professional career choices. Her experiences reflect personal and nonpersonal connections with these role models. She offered the following observations:

Well, I have a couple of people who are like sort of larger than life role model type people. They are not mentors because I do not know them personally. But even though I haven't kept up as much with her these days, I have always admired Angela Davis and her courage and her adversity and daring to be different. So in terms of huge people that I look up to, she certainly has long been one. But I've had a number of mentors, and I continue to have relationships with people who I think have been instrumental in helping me get where I am and have given me good advice about things. A couple of people were white men I worked with . . . where I got my master's and Ph.D., and they are in the academy. . . . I love all my brothers dearly, but my oldest brother is probably one of the most influential people in my life in terms of a role model and in terms of a mentor, and he has a really good position at [company] . . . There are women who I see on a day-to-day basis that I think, both younger and older women, who I think keep me feeling that I have a support group. . . . I guess the last two people I would name are two writers. These are black men who have just kind of been there for me, been in my corner, because I mean at one point I felt that I was going to be a playwright or something, so maybe I will one day. So I think I have sort of a wide range, a broad range of people who have actually influenced my decisions and who've encouraged and supported me.

Dr. Marilyn Moore affirmed the valuable support family provided for her. This was the unspoken source of confidence and character building episodes in her life. Her role models included aunts, professors and supervisors during internships, and leaders in national organizations. She replied that there were,

[There were] several role models. One is this aunt of mine. Her occupation is a seamstress. It wasn't necessarily her occupation that was instrumental in my seeking to emulate. It was more her personality and the way she interacted with people that I admired the most. . . . I've had a number of mentors . . . with my involvement as a . . . minority fellow. In that arrangement, I was paired with some outstanding African-American . . . leaders that I had read about . . . , one who offered me the opportunity to come and have that one year's time to kind of look around and work with her directly in terms of coaching and to think about what I wanted to do and how to go about accomplishing it . . . It wasn't a formal internship. It actually was a paid position. She had the resources to hire me for that purpose . . . she was the director of the minority fellowship program.

Dr. Tia Thomas described role models who were distant but effective. She was able to obtain strength and endurance from these role models. She stated:

Sojourner Truth . . . [and] a female dean who is now in Texas, . . . it's important for me to include her. She walked by me in the hall one day in another building when I was serving in an administrative position here . . . , and she placed literally her hand on my shoulder. At that time I was finishing my master's degree here, and she said to me, "Because you can, I want you to go and get your doctorate, complete the work for your doctorate, because you can," and I know that sentence remains with me today. If for no other reason, simply because I could do it. So, definite mentor and friend. As a matter of fact, I dedicated my dissertation to her as my confidante. . . . A very special aunt, and I would not omit my mother. Both of those people have exemplified strength and endurance beyond any capacity that I think I might be able to reach, and so I'm striving.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes and Ms. Evelyn Taylor talked about role models and mentors as having little influence on their careers. Dr. Hobbes noted:

Well, I mean it's kind of strange because I didn't really have a role model in the sciences per se. My mentors in the sciences were kind of late in coming, but they were two people that I met while I was doing my post- doctoral fellowship . . .

very good mentors for me. But from a non science point of view, I think my mother was probably the best mentor that I had. She taught me things that were not particular to science, but to life in general, and they've helped me as I've tried to meet my career goals.

Ms. Evelyn Taylor, however, suggested that she did not have any role models or mentors.

“Well, I don't have any. That's the problem. I would say probably . . . one of the older men, he's been here for 20 to 25 years . . . This is also a place where, if you want mentoring, you have to ask for it.”

Overall, the experiences of these women reveal a variety of self-confidence building situations. In many cases these women used race and gender issues as teaching opportunities for their students, colleagues, and administrators in the universities they served. These women also exhibited a very mature outlook on self-confidence-building situations, which guided their conceptions of their work life experiences. These work life experiences are further detailed in the following section.

Work Life Experiences

With regard to the work life of the participants, two categories of concerns were established. These categories included experiences with colleagues and experiences with students. Separate questions were asked in order to probe these two environments. These questions were (1) During the workday, what do you experience with your colleagues? (2) Describe in detail your work life environment experiences with students.

Work Life Experiences with Colleagues

The women were asked to describe work life experiences with colleagues. The women experienced friendly and pleasant work conditions. Some women said that areas

such as the hallway were places for conversation with other faculty members, whether by chance or by design. The women indicated conversations with colleagues were held by chance and at times no real interaction occurred. Occasions such as lunch for some were planned, but others saw lunch as an unofficial social time.

The women experienced collaborative efforts revolving around research with other colleagues. Work-related issues created a chance for information exchange on a professional basis. The women did not express opportunities for casual exchanges of information on professional issues germane to their career development. One participant handled these situations by emulating the behavior of majority faculty and trying to participate in conversations that would keep her in the loop.

During the interviews, gender and race issues related to work life always seemed to emerge. For example, Ms. Evelyn Taylor explained:

There are only two black employees here, me and the guy in circulation. There's never been more than three at a time. . . . My boss and I have an interesting relationship, the head of reference. . . . She's been a professional at least a couple of years longer than I have. We don't communicate well. I don't mean that we snipe at one another. It's pleasant enough on the surface, but she's a very difficult person to read. . . . Two colleagues who left, another female who I got along with quite well, both also had problems with this woman. That's what made me realize that it's just not my hang-up or me. I don't know about the men, because I've never asked them.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes's interaction with colleagues was based on mutual areas of research interests. She used collaborative research efforts for professional purposes. She replied:

I interact with some colleagues more than others, depending on our area of research, and generally it's in a collaborative type of relationship. If, for example, a colleague has an expertise or skill that I don't have and that I need to address

some area of my research, then we interact on a professional level to bridge that gap.

Dr. Tia Thomas reflected on the political realities when other faculty members had personal agendas. She suggested:

[I focus on] a professional exchange of information, communication, friendly atmosphere, . . . I experience a political world sometimes beyond my imagination. I observe individuals in this political world who appear to have an agenda from the time they reach this building in the morning until they leave, and that agenda centers solely on them . . . and I suppose that's everywhere we go. You're either in the loop or you're not, and I'm part in there because I mimic some behavior. I don't have my own identity, because some of it's good and some of it will allow me to progress.

Dr. Lucy Fox described how she has established a daily routine that has helped her to cope with the lack of interaction she has with her colleagues. She stated:

Well, during my workday I pretty much get in here about 7:30 a.m. and I come and I close my door, so I guess there's not a lot of interaction unless I go to the bathroom or the mailbox. You know, say good morning, how are you doing. Just courtesy. With faculty, in terms of freedom, I don't know, it's just a different kind of feeling. When I interact with faculty, I always . . . I don't know if it's just me or what, but I always try to keep it professional and upbeat and enunciating every word, and when I'm with students it's an opportunity to relax a little and . . . enjoy the conversation, engage in a little conversation sometimes.

Dr. Marilyn Moore knows exactly what a workday should produce for her and her students. She suggested that her routine is based on work-connected outcomes. She reflected:

My association with my colleagues during the workday is as graduate program director, I might encounter colleagues regarding some student issues in terms of some problems they have with students. Probably with other faculty members, it's associated with planning for coursework and course assignments. I may be involved with faculty in terms of trying to arrange for hiring and getting some of our course appointments filled with part-time faculty . . . primarily work-connected, and then there are, of course, some other interactions. We eat lunch together, a more informal social kind of thing, and we could opt to lunch here or go out somewhere to lunch given the time. Most of it is work.

Dr. Faye Holder did not see collegial contact as a necessary event in her day at work. She expressed her desires to write and do research, leaving little room for idle conversation. She stated:

I barely see them, we're all so busy. I don't see them very much, unless we have meetings. If we don't have meetings, then I just sort of pass people in the hallways or something. I think that for the most part, it's fairly pleasant around here. I meet people and we just say, "Hello," and, "How are you doing?" There are times that I think because I am [position deleted] of the department, people will come to me with complaints or problems that they have, so I think I'm one who sometimes hears about problems that are going on in the department among people who work here or hear people's dissatisfaction about some aspects of their jobs. I hear that kind of thing during the day, and otherwise I think that the people I come into the closest contact with are probably the people that I have lunch with or socialize with or whatever, and so we're very friendly and we can also commiserate about things and that kind of thing.

Dr. Janice Carter referred to working with colleagues as an opportunity for others to get used to her personality. She characterized herself as being a pillar in her university. She has always tried to help the university bring the community on campus through collaborative program efforts. Her unique perspective on this situation is based on her longevity in the academy. She concludes this section of interview questions by tying the issue of work environment experienced by African-American women in a comprehensive fashion. She argued:

Well, initially it took them a little while to get used to me. . . . I am the long-term, oldest probably too, but longevity in terms of service, I probably am the oldest black professor. But it was like people were polite to me in meetings, but I could see them 15 minutes later in the grocery store and they didn't know who I was. . . . I confronted them in a faculty meeting one day and I said, "How can you be preparing teachers to teach diverse populations for the 21st century and you don't even speak to me when you see me in the hall?" And of course, you know, nobody had any recollection that this ever happened. I think you have to be very thick-skinned. I'm not sure that my trust level is that high. I know I have to watch my back. I know that there are things that if I did, I would get fired on the spot, where if other people did them, people of other colors, they would not be

fired. I think I work very hard. I think I work a lot harder than my other colleagues. They might not think that, but I think I do. I remember one day I was sitting doing registration and it was the beginning of a school year and all the white faculty were sitting around talking. . . . After about 3 or 4 hours one of the white men turned to me and said, "What are you doing?" And I said, "I'm working on my syllabi." And he, "Oh, damn, yes. That's right, I've got to do that." So during the break, he ran upstairs and he came back downstairs with one sheet of paper that was so yellow and old that the corners were falling off. And he said, "Gee, I guess I'm going to have this retyped and change the dates on it." . . . So there's a whole different attitude out there. It's interesting, because . . . I guess I've been here so long and there's so many people that have retired and there are a lot of new people coming in. If they thought I was weird, they haven't seen some of these new kids coming out of college. Straight out of college with their Ph.D.s and obsessive/compulsive disorders and substance abuse. I mean we're getting a whole different array of young folks. I think at this point being black and female is really not a key issue. They just happen to have somebody that they can relate to. I have one white colleague, actually she's the one who hired me, who has never changed from the day we met.

While we're sitting around looking at TV, they're scheming. . . . It's not a place that I feel particularly safe, but I feel I can survive if I work at it. People switch up on you. . . . I can't depend on other people.

This lengthy quote by Dr. Janice Carter sets the tone for all the women in this study. Her experiences cover a long time period, which is vitally important to examine in light of her progression through the ranks and her status as a senior faculty member.

Work Life Experiences with Students

The second part to the work life question dealt with student contact. The participants described some of the daily activities they encountered with students. These activities included helping students choose quality resources for research papers, one-on-one tutoring, advising and mentoring, and helping them cope with personal problems. They women also facilitated an approachable environment by providing e-mail addresses and voice mail, and responding to pager calls. Other natural components of teaching and student encounters included advising student organizations, counseling students on their

lives, helping students trying to get in needed courses, helping students meet graduation requirements, reading e-mail, and just talking with students.

The most strongly held convictions among the interviewees revolved around their concern and love for some of the students. Body expressions observed during the interviews revealed the true feelings held by these women when working with students. One professor would put her face in both of her hands and then clasp them together, and another professor would wave to the students as they passed the open door. One professor put her arm around the student and assured him that it was all right to interrupt the interview and that I would not mind waiting. Only one of the seven females seemed less than enthusiastic when describing her meetings with students. Her nontraditional teaching opportunities did not allow her as much direct contact with students, except when they were in emergency situations.

The interviewees made numerous observations that attest to their work life with students. Ms. Evelyn Taylor, in particular, shared a situation that represented how she interacts with African-American and white students. She stressed:

There've been times when I have gone out and probably done more for African-American students, to try to give them what I feel is the lowdown on an issue, which I wouldn't have to do or feel the need to do with a White student. A couple of years ago I had a student, I never knew what his name was, . . . but he was doing a paper. It was for a history or political science class. . . . He was taking a topic and was taking a stance that was very militant. And I really wasn't familiar with the professor; some I know at least by reputation And he showed me one book he had. See, one thing you have to understand, but know this because you've taught, the students don't always understand the importance of evaluating their resources. . . . Certain clues will tell you about this person's stance. . . . I kind of looked at the book he had, he was like, "I found this in 'Afrikan' spelled with a k to refer to African-Americans." Now see, that's a red flag to me in terms that I know this is a politicized stance here, and I wanted to make sure that student was aware of that. I said, "You realize this book may be controversial in some

ways. How do you think I know that? . . . You see, when you spell 'African' like this and most people just use the term 'African-American' or 'black' or 'black American,' so this 'African' and spelled with a *k*, that's kind of a political statement, though it's very subtle. . . . When you take a stance in the paper that is going to be controversial, . . . have all your ammunition. . . . If a white student was doing the opposite, using a lot of white supremacist literature, I would want to make sure . . . he understood that this literature is controversial.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes' work life was personally observed by the interviewer.

Dr. Hobbes was in a laboratory working right before the interview. Because of the process used to end that class, the interviewer had to wait and the interview started late. Therefore, the interviewer was able to sit in the hall and observe Dr. Hobbes as she entered the suite of offices. She was engaged in several activities involving professors scheduling meetings, lab technicians coordinating lab times, and students studying for tests. She was also in the process of preparing papers for a tutorial session review with her students. Dr. Hobbes' remarked:

Well, I tutor students a lot. Most of the courses that I teach are upper-level undergraduate courses or graduate-level courses, and so I do a lot of individual or one-on-one tutoring for students. From an undergraduate standpoint, I serve as faculty mentor for one or two courses here . . . and the student has to do a little presentation and write a paper, and they have to select a mentor to work with them on developing their talk and developing that paper. So I work a lot with students like that and it's usually productive. I think we're productive and I try to be of any help, especially to the minority students, because it's easier sometimes for them to identify with men and I don't have a problem with that. . . . I try to be enthusiastic in teaching whatever it is I'm teaching. . . . Sometimes I'd agree to serve as mentor for a student and then that student never shows up after I sign the first paper. So a few fall by the wayside, but the majority of them are pretty good.

Dr. Tia Thomas spoke explicitly about her daily routines and how these routines included helping students with personal experiences:

I tell my students, at the end of the day it is very difficult for us to always measure our success. We're not producing as in some industry, etc. We're working with people . . . My environment is extremely challenging with my students. . . .

Without knowing that I am giving them this perception, I have students who enter my office and share some of the most personal experiences about themselves. So, in other words, that atmosphere has been created, not deliberately, because I really don't need to hear anyone else's problems. Some of these problems in terms of my environment have caused me to have to make some ethical decisions that have made me uncomfortable. My environment is extremely enjoyable as a result of my students. . . . I can come in heavily burdened . . . on a given day and I have two or three calls and I'm really dreading the fact that I've got to do this, given my problems. . . . I walk into the classroom and I begin the lesson and begin my interaction with them, my problems are totally forgotten until I walk out, so it's positive, sacred if I may, it's just very special.

Dr. Marilyn Moore captured the off-campus experiences that had created situations requiring adaptation to specific environments. This was important to student success. Faculty members had to be more accessible at unconventional times in nontraditional settings. Dr. Moore explains how she handled different settings in which she was involved with students while completing her other responsibilities:

In students, I guess a good way to describe the work life would be to talk about the average day with students. It might start out with responding to e-mail or voice-mail messages from students in the evening, or some pagers, because we make ourselves available through our pagers. Then to conduct a classroom course which could be a variation of a lecture format. Also, we have clinical courses associated with our program, so what that means is that I will supervise students at clinical placements. I may also have some involvement with students associated with some of the student organizations. One organization we have is the Honor Society. I played a major role in the Honor Society, serving on the board. Students beg and plead to faculty to help make changes to their lives.

Many of the African-American women interviewed engage students outside of the classroom and assist them in life situations. They serve as sounding boards and ministers to the needs of students while also maintaining a professional distance, which complicates the student-faculty relationships.

Dr. Faye Holder had to cope with the dual roles she served as Director of a Black Studies program and as a professor who enjoyed a reputation of requiring her students to work hard. She explained:

I have probably more contact with students than I would if I were just teaching. I have the range of students who are begging and pleading for something to change in their lives or to get in a course or to do something, to the students who want to complain about other professors or whatever their particular complaints are. . . . In the classroom itself, I think that students are pretty responsive to me as a teacher, and so I find my classroom experiences most of the time pretty pleasant. I do have a couple of problems, I think. . . . The response of students, I think, who . . . don't expect a black woman to walk into a British Lit survey course. . . . I have a sort of reputation of being very hard. I have some students who would, I think, go to the wall for me, really loyal students, both former students and current students. But I also have this reputation of she's really hard and she grades really hard, and students have said to me, "I'd like to take your course, but I'm afraid of you," which is not a pleasant thing to hear students say on the one hand. On the other hand, I have standards, so what I'll say to students is "Well, if you do your work you don't have to be afraid of me. You don't have to be afraid of me at all." . . . I'm a no-nonsense-in-the-classroom kind of person. . . . And so I do get some flak . . . and I'll tell you it's primarily from black students, which is the part that bothers me, because I see them sometimes, I think they think I'm being harder on them, but I think they're being harder on me. Things that they will accept from other professors, they will not accept from me. I get criticized or it shows up on the evaluations. And I get pretty good evaluations most of the time . . . around the department, I mean, so I don't feel I'm doing significantly below what other people in the department are doing. . . . Primarily what I do is African-American literature. . . . So, I mean it isn't like I'm saying I have this horrible experience with them.

Dr. Holder's comments clearly establish multiple dilemmas facing African-American women in higher education generally but also speak specifically to issues impacting African-American women in Historically White public institutions. They are expected to be scholars of the highest order and mentors for students, and they must also possess disarming personalities in order to be acceptable to both colleagues and students. In this respect, aggressive women are viewed as being pushy, arrogant, and uppity. Olsen,

Maple, and Stage (1995), McKay (1997), Sanders and Mellow (1990), and Pyant and Yanico (1991) discussed the strength of African-Americans in majority situations. Pyant and Yanico alluded to the strength in racial identity helping minorities to cope with stress or stimuli due to racial issues.

The students these African-American women deal with experience similar stress stimuli. Dr. Janice Carter spoke about the “baggage” many students bring to campus. In many cases these students have obsessive and compulsive disorders and are involved with substance abuse. This diagnosis of student behavior further complicates student/faculty relationships. Dr. Carter continued:

Oh, the students make it all worthwhile. There are a few white students who are not comfortable with minority faculty, particularly minority faculty who carry any degree of power. Like I'm Director of [title deleted], and a lot of them will duck all around, but then they have to deal with me. But basically the students have been wonderful. . . . The kids from the 1980s . . . I'm still in contact with. They bring their children by, I go to their weddings, I go to their funerals . . . the whole thing. Particularly the minority students and a lot of the white students, they were just so happy to have passed through . . . and to have had the opportunity to learn. With kids today, it's kind of like, “Look, I need an A. “What do I have to do to get it?” I'm finding that I work much harder. . . . Now I've had to confront some of them. . . . I said, “You know, you all like to hang out in my office, pick my brain, try and stroke so you can get some extra points, and then when I see you at graduation (the faculty serves at graduation) and you turn your back because you don't want your parents to know that you have a black teacher,” and I said, “All I'm saying to you is, if you're not going to know me on graduation day, do the favor of not knowing me all semester.”

In conclusion, faculty and student work life experiences provide the boundaries for these African-American women in how they experience academic life. Their observations provide a useful heuristic in understanding the demands placed upon these women within their academic environments.

Examination of University and Community Activities

The seven women were asked to describe their participation in departmental meetings and other university meetings, as well as their off-campus scholarly activities, and the role their communities played in their lives.

Examination of Departmental Meetings

The seven participants had a variety of views concerning departmental meetings. There were no overwhelmingly different experiences reported. Participants asked for continued confidentiality in this matter. As the interviews progressed, concerns for confidentiality became more obvious. This area is particularly sensitive because it addresses the foundation upon which concerns for the work life are built. Nonetheless, the participants became more animated in their responses, understanding full well the sensitivity in revealing this information.

Dr. Lucy Fox stated that she goes to meetings because they are required. She added: "Oh, I go to them. You know they're required, so I go to the departmental meetings and if someone asks me a question, I'll respond. I very seldom have any questions at these meetings."

Dr. Faye Holder expressed ambivalence about departmental meetings:

I'm pretty quiet in department meetings. In any meetings, I think you'll find there are people who talk all the time and I'm not one of them, which I think was part of the difficulty I had at [university name deleted]. . . . I think people sometimes saw my silence as a lack of interest or that I didn't know something, but I'm just not chatty in department meetings. I speak when I need to. There are times when I'm called upon to speak because I am the chair of the Undergraduate Program Committee, the curriculum program in the department. . . . If I feel really strongly about some issue, then I speak, but for the most part I'm pretty quiet.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes said that she contributed in departmental meetings whenever she deemed it necessary: “Well, I think when I have something to contribute, I contribute whatever it is. I don’t feel intimidated in any way to the point that I have something I want to say and I don’t say it because of the intimidation.”

Conversely, Dr. Marilyn Moore did not like the numerous departmental meetings she was required to attend. She reported:

[There are] too many of them. Well, as graduate program director and I am the chairperson of the graduate faculty meetings, I leave that meeting as a member of the undergraduate faculty, so I’m expected to attend that meeting and the general faculty meeting.

Dr. Tia Thomas said of departmental meetings: “I feel comfortable. I do participate in terms of asking questions, sharing experiences, and including information that I think should be included and has been omitted. Many times our opportunity to participate just does not exist.”

Dr. Janice Carter takes a different approach in describing departmental meetings. She suggested that these meetings are places that should be used to hash out trouble spots. She stated:

I enjoy working but days that you have meetings and you know you got to knock heads and deal with issues, you kind of wish you could pull the cover up over your head. Basically, it’s not a bad place to work. Or else I know I’m going to retire in four years, so I figure whatever comes down the pike I can handle it at this point.

In conclusion, departmental meetings were described in different ways by the participants. Many felt that they were places to be seen and not heard. The ambivalence described about these meetings may contradict earlier issues relating to self-confidence.

On the other hand, several of the women used faculty meetings to articulate departmental concerns and program issues.

Examination of University Meetings

Dr. Lilly Hobbes reported how university-wide meetings did not cause as much insecurity as did departmental meetings. Dr. Faye Holder judged each meeting individually.

Dr. Lucy Fox usually responded to important issues that concerned the university. She attended all university meetings in order to get first hand information on issues relating to policy changes that affected her and the faculty. She wanted to stay informed: “I probably participate more university-wide than I do school-wide. As a matter of fact, I’m just coming off this big evaluation with the human resource department . . . and I was part of that evaluation team.”

Dr. Lilly Hobbes stated: “I do think, though, it’s a little bit more difficult to feel insecure in university-wide as it is departmental.” Dr. Faye Holder stated:

I would say that it depends on the kind of meeting it is. . . . I am probably a little more talkative than I am in department meetings simply because often those are issues in which I might be representing the department. . . . I need to make the department’s wishes known or even my personal wishes about something. Right now, I’m on a major college committee that is also a curriculum committee, and so it’s necessary to engage there in ways that I don’t necessarily have to in the department.

Dr. Tia Thomas replied: “I have served on the governance body here. Active participation throughout the campus and in our college wide meetings, active . . . [about] responding when I feel, it’s [it is] appropriate and necessary.”

Dr. Janice Carter reported:

[Most] of them [African-American faculty members] are in the School of [delete school identification] so they're not really around other parts of the campus. . . . When we go to college meetings, you have your power cliques and the folk that have a vested interest in being in control who kind of take over. I guess they listen to the minority faculty. . . . I'm not sure they listen to the white faculty if they're not saying what they want them to say. I don't go to . . . many . . . college-wide meetings. I have a good relationship with the president and if I have something I want to say, I just e-mail her and she responds. . . . I stopped going to the college-wide meetings because they were upsetting. . . . People . . . argue and fight over issues. I guess promotion and tenure are important issues, but those are the only things that seem to rally the folk and I guess they are important issues.

In conclusion, university-wide meetings served as a function for these African-American women within certain professional boundaries as either leaders or participants in university-wide functions. Discussions with the participants on the topic of university-wide meetings did not elicit any real differences in the experiences already described in departmental meetings. The women did address the more secure atmosphere in university meetings because the number of minorities were usually greater. The involvement of some participants would be increased if the university decided to take action on certain issues. Some still voiced a concern that university-wide meetings were not the place to raise sensitive issues.

Examination of Professional and Scholarly Service Activities

The third component of activities examined focused on professional and scholarly service activities. Examples of these activities included committee appointments, serving on the board of directors of community organizations, research projects with colleagues, writing books, and collecting information on the preservation of historical buildings and community museums. Each faculty member had a specific scholarly agenda or at least had developed projects that will lead to scholarly productivity.

Dr. Marilyn Moore was involved in a variety of community service activities that guided her research efforts and provided a focus for her research agenda. Dr. Moore explained:

I have served on committees and have had to try to narrow their focuses. It can be quite demanding. Most often what happens is that I get asked to serve, to the extent that I can, [if] it's something that I can get out of the experience [and] provide some service, then I would consider it. I've served on the research committee for [a local hospital], I've served on the advisory board for the [local community services board] Norfolk Community Services Board, the advisory board for [a center for research on children's diseases], and . . . associated with scholarly kinds of things so you're primarily looking at having some way to connect to some populations that I might have access for research. . . . I've done some training for organizations off-campus, you know, consulting type of work. . . . I've presented at conferences. The way I got the off-campus connections is someone on-campus may refer you or because I [conducted] training. We have [a professional development center] and they called and asked if I would do a certain type of training and then, you know, the word gets going like that.

Two women expressed similarities in their intent to educate their communities on African-American culture. One woman focused on the community outside the university, while the other professor focused on educating the university community on issues about African-American culture. These two women felt compelled to carry the service element to the larger communities in which they lived.

Dr. Faye Holder stated:

I don't have a procedure. I just do it when I'm called upon to do it. . . . I just do it on a sort of as-needed basis. If someone calls me up and says can you do this, I can either do it or not. . . . Now that I am directing the [title of program deleted], I am trying to do a little bit more in terms of outreach because I want the community to understand that we're here and to feel connected. . . . I'm trying . . . to get a procedure established, something that is more than just hit or miss, but actively seeking places where I can be, I think useful.

Dr. Janice Carter is working on a community restoration project that will tie in with her future research. She reported:

Well, I'm working with the museum. I'm doing some research on the organization. . . . Most of my scholarly research has been in the area of African-American history. We are losing so much of our history. . . . I'm into African-American history, particularly in this area because it's rich with history and nobody is documenting it. Now whether or not that's considered scholarly by white folk, I really don't know and I really don't personally care. I'm interested in issues related to black families, strengthening black families, and some of my research efforts have been in that area. I'm also doing some follow-up to my dissertation and I [am] try to do a few things that will meet with white folks approval, because in academia you've got to do that. I'm looking at some issues that are pertinent to the education of baccalaureate social workers, . . . in the community, it's basically collecting history from community people before all that history is lost.

Another aspect of the professional and scholarly service continuum is the ability to participate in travel. Dr. Lilly Hobbes, for example, could get committee appointments because of her grant awards. She had the opportunity to work with others in her field and to attend conferences. She reported:

Generally if you have a grant and you have travel money budgeted in your grant, you attend meetings. We do have a procedure within the department that you can request funds to attend meetings so that you can interact academically with your peers. Money is very limited there, and so you may or may not get that; but with grant support, generally you can attend one meeting a year. That is how I interact professionally.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes's observations describe how professional development cannot be separated from the scholarly and service continuum. The ability to travel and engage in pertinent research directs the service aspect of scholarly development.

Ms. Evelyn Taylor, the nontraditional faculty member, has not really participated in off-campus activities. Ms. Taylor has participated in foreign language classes and has used that as a way of trying to map out her future in the academy. She is in the planning stages of career advancement to broaden her options for academic future. She reported:

I've taken several classes here. I took a couple of German classes . . . I wanted to be at least able to read German. . . . I had French and Russian in high school and

Russian in college. . . . I was admitted to the history department . . . graduate program in history.

Dr. Tia Thomas focused on diverse scholarly activities. She maintains membership in several different professional organizations. Her goal is to stay up-to-date and informed on issues related to her field. She stated:

Well, I make sure that I am informed and that I do have an established number of memberships in scholarly organizations. I attend diverse scholarly activities. It is important to me. It helps me with my total growth and my feeling of totality, that holistic person. Recently, [a college name deleted] our college actually visioned a visual arts center, and it may be called several things. Most recently, an exhibit was opened entitled *Medical Supplies, etc. Prior to the Civil War*. . . . There are times when my discussion on the Civil War is both positive and negative and my feelings too. . . . I also participated in a consulting roles. . . . I developed workshops. Again, that causes me to have to continue to research, get the most current material.

Overall, the participants expressed the importance of scholarly and service activities to their career development and growth. They felt scholarly activities further helped their teaching and research agendas to become more holistic professors in the academy.

Examination of Community Activities

Three distinct entities surfaced that characterized community for the women. These areas included the church, the local community, and social activities.

The first group expressed various levels of church participation as a way to be part of a community for them. Out of the four who spoke of church, one admitted that church was an on-and-off situation.

Dr. Faye Holder spoke about her commitment to church by saying that she attends as frequently as possible.

When I go to church, and I do that sort of [name of church deleted] . . . there are times when I go every Sunday and boy, I'm there and I'm involved or whatever, and then I go long periods of time where I don't go at all. One of the things that I did find early on when I moved to [county name deleted] is a church to go to and get involved with, and so I would say that the church plays a part in it.

Dr. Marilyn Moore indicated that she lives in a religious and social community which is an important part of her life. She stated:

My religious community has been very important. I'm active in church and church-related activities and one key thing that I've done was Girl Scout Leader/Coordinator for a scout program at church. My social community has to do with social and civic groups.

Dr. Lucy Fox did not speak to any permanent commitments to church but indicated church made her feel like she was a part of the community. She replied: "Well not a member, but I attend [name of church deleted] . . . and I do some work there at the church, and then I like sports so I go to a lot of games, basketball games, so that keeps me busy."

Dr. Lilly Hobbes was definite about her work efforts in the church. Sunday was her time. She replied:

Yes. My church . . . Oh yes. I'm very active in my church. I'm on the board of trustees there and I go to church every Sunday. I try to reserve Sundays for non-academic or my religious growth and it's a very, very important part of who I am and what I do.

Two interviewees were women who fought battles to preserve the culture in their communities. They used their academic training to serve the community in many

capacities. Dr. Tia Thomas concentrated on the historical background of her community.

As a “home girl,” Dr. Janice Carter wanted her community to build and survive.

Dr. Thomas stated:

This community [name of community deleted] you may or may not be aware of our historical background . . . [was] one of the counties listed in Brown v. Board of Education . . . Supreme Court decision. . . Well, I came to this area just when schools closed and I certainly should have been in school. . . Therefore, [I] have experienced the growth, if that's the word that really explains what has occurred here. . . I've experienced the changes throughout my life. So over the last 30 years I have been an integral and active part of this community. Instead of being angry, I have participated in giving of myself continuously. I remember when I first came out of undergraduate school, I became the president of a [county name deleted] well-established group that no longer exists, and it was the [county name deleted] Committee on Human Relations. We need that today. So I started back then. I was age 20, very young, and I have moved through various community groups, organizations, and worked to make changes here in our county.

Dr. Janice Carter explained her commitment to the survival of her surrounding community:

Oh, I think by being a home girl there are lots of things I'm involved in too much so really. You know I work with local churches. I'm a pianist. Again, with the [name of business deleted] I'm all over the place with families and working with [special] issues and [coping] issues. Being a resource person for community folk when they need to do wills and settle estates . . . just kind of having knowledge that people need, because that's limited here.

One of the seven women did not really see community as important. Ms. Evelyn Taylor stood out from all the other women in this regard. Ms. Taylor stated:

No. It's never been really particularly important to me, and I think I'm different from a lot of the young black people in this respect. That's never been a major issue for me, if there's like a thriving African-American community where I live. If that were so, I wouldn't have chosen some of the places I chose to go to school, but what is important to me is that there is a pool of eligible dating men I could date in my age range.

Specific life events have had a tremendous impact on how the participants viewed their particular roles in their communities. The so-called “home girls” were personally impacted by events in their communities. These women teach in their hometown colleges and universities. They have a unique perspective on the history of these institutions and the roles these institutions played in social, educational, and cultural issues in their communities. Some of these same issues are unresolved and still affect these women. Community has played an important role in most of these women’s professional careers and their personal lives.

Future Challenges

The participants discussed the impact of departmental meetings, university-wide meetings, scholarly service activities, and community issues on their professional lives. The questions asked were, 1) What is the role of African-American females participating in Historically White institutions of higher education as part of the future of academics? 2) Why should Historically White institutions care about African-American faculty participation? These two topics provide the line of questioning to explore future challenges to African-American women in the academe.

The Role of the African-American Woman in the Future

Two women employed at opposite end of the state, both felt that the question, “What is your role as an African-American female in a majority institution?” was a “loaded question” and a “a big question.”

Dr. Tia Thomas felt that her role was to educate people about diversity.

She said:

My role is to continue to try and educate people. I think that I was just profoundly shocked to learn of the ignorance about diversity in higher education. It is incredible. I had a professor, and I'm an assistant professor, a professor who had been here for years to have me speak to her class, and after the students had asked all of their questions, she asked hers, and that question remains with me today, and that is, "... would you please help me understand why all of my black students come through the door late?" I had to take into consideration and really gather my thoughts and compose myself with that question. Even though this educator lacked sensitivity to diversity, to ask such a question based on an old stereotype, I responded to her, maybe not in the most professional manner or the most scholarly manner, but I responded with a question and that question was, "Are you sure it's only your black students who come through the door late and not other students too, or is it just that you see them because their skin is of a different color?" I've said education, educating them. ... increasing their sensitivity to issues of diversity.

As the above quote suggested, the African-American female faculty member is forced to defend every aspect of the African-American experience to her colleagues and her students. She becomes the expert on every aspect of black life, regardless how mundane the issue may be.

Dr. Marilyn Moore also responded that this was a big question. She had decided that she can not be all things to all people:

Too often you get tasked because you are the African-American person and you are expected to be the lone member on every single committee and to be able to set limits and say that's an unreasonable expectation. Number one is ... able to survive, and that's what I tell new people coming in, because unless I give them the support to be able to survive, then I won't be able to stay. That was the one thing that I had to keep foremost in my mind leading up to my tenure review, that in the effort of trying to make sure that you got so spread around folks were repeatedly asking for you to be here, there, and whatever, and I had to learn to say no in order to be able to protect myself and what I came here to do. And to some people, they think that you're being selfish and mean and whatever, but unless I can be selfish enough so that I can do that, they will have no problems asking me to leave. That was the one thing that I keep in mind and try to stay focused.

Dr. Faye Holder felt strongly about sticking with her convictions to teach students and teach colleagues. She insisted that her established ways of contributing to society would only grow if she can write and just not be a supplement to her profession. Her views on the future were circumspect. She said:

I think . . . I will keep doing what I do. . . . I never thought I'd be doing this much administrative stuff, I don't particularly want to do things on the administrative end. I am more inclined to, I think, make a difference in terms of what I teach at those institutions. Teach students, sometimes teach my colleagues, and so I think just continuing to do what I do and give talks, present papers, participate in the college life as an active member. I don't think that because I'm tenured or something, I'll go somewhere and decide well, I don't have to do these things anymore because I think these are ongoing issues and that I'll always have something to say about them or some way to involve myself so that I can make a difference. I think that I write very particular kinds of things. I don't do, for example, real broad-based cultural studies kinds of things or the sorts of things that maybe would get me into that superstar kind of thing where everybody wants you to come because you have things to say on this issue or that issue. I write about writers, because that's what I do and that's what I like, but I think that I'm concerned about, I don't write about the writers narrowly. I think if you read things that I've written, I still touch on issues that are important issues, important social issues or political issues, women's issues, that sort of thing. So, yes, I think I can do it through the writing, You know, creative writers like Ishmael Reid and folks like that, academic writers, people who do the kind of stuff I do, and I think that I touched on some issues.

Dr. Fox and Dr. Carter focused on a particular aspect of their continued work in majority institutions. They looked at the inclusiveness of students in their work ethics and helping the university mentor new African-American faculty. Dr. Fox wanted to help students become a part of the environment:

If I see them [African-American students] in my classes, I try to be all-inclusive and to make them feel a part of the class. Sometimes African-American students are kind of left out and it is . . . not intentionally. It's that if you have a majority person that's teaching the class and you've got this one minority student or two minority students in the class, then a faculty member will behave as if they don't want the student to think they're picking on them by calling on them. I try not to focus on ideas like that. I just try to make them feel a part, so if I call on anybody

else in there you're fair game. You just happen to be African-American. And sometimes that includes them and it makes them feel that they [have a] vested interest in that class, or as much interest as anybody else sitting in there.

Dr. Janice Carter wanted to continue to help mentor new faculty for her university after she retires. She stated:

One of the things I've done at [university name deleted] . . . is as new minority faculty have come on campus, I've kind of helped them with an orientation. I've organized the minority faculty so that we meet periodically and we talk about issues. I've engaged students in getting to know them and making sure that there were activities planned. There are kids who go through here for four years and never know that there are black faculty on other parts of this campus. . . . The new faculty when they come on in terms of finding places to live, understanding what the power structure is, making sure that they don't get out there on a limb and that they're not used, and people set them up so they can get rid of them. I guess I kind of see my role continuing. I intend to stay in the community after I retire in 4 years, and I will probably figure out some way that I can hang on for a few extra years doing different things at the college. . . . The first year I'm going to sleep and I'm going to rest.

This professor sees a role that she can continue to play for the university beyond retirement. This particular observation provides a unique glimpse into the future of African-Americans in higher education. Dr. Carter places into perspective the role that past generations of scholars play in securing the future for African-American scholars in their universities. Therefore, the future will be based on continuity between an older generation of academics and their legacy to the future generation.

Dr. Lucy Fox saw her role as an African-American faculty member in a Historically White institution as urgent and needing immediate response. She stated:

I think we have to be here and right now there's a crisis . . . particularly when you look in the schools of education across the country. There are so few black students going into the teaching profession, and you can stand up and tell someone to do something all day and all night, but I think the best way to get the message across is to model for them. And I think if education is to continue and if the profession is going to be a viable one for African-American students, then they

need to see role models, and I see myself as a role model in education. We do all this study and research about blacks in higher education or black students not wanting to go into higher education, there are so many other issues that we need to address, like how many black faculty are there in higher education. You only see one, then you may think that they have their one “why should I pursue this,” so we need to increase our minority representation in disciplines, you know not only education, but education is a key profession that we need to have more minority representation.

Dr. Lucy Fox offers one of the most critical insights into the future. She suggested that in order for African-Americans to continue in higher education, there must first of all be role models whom students can emulate in order to overcome the current crisis in higher education. This crisis is the low number of African-Americans entering into the profession coupled with benign neglect on the part of institutions to develop African-American talent.

Why Should Historically White Institutions of Higher Education Care?

The second question that was asked of the participants was. “Why should Historically White Colleges and Universities care?” In addressing this question, the seven women focused heavily on diversity issues and how diversity will impact the 21st Century. They stated opinions regarding the outcome of American public life. Dr. Tia Thomas focused on the importance of educating students for the 21st Century in a multicultural paradigm in order to ensure civility. She stated:

Primarily because we are probably at our peak in the United States in terms of diversity . . . and I'm not aware that we can produce this student. Well here in a white institution, predominantly white institution, my perspective is that we're here to produce this holistic person who can enter society . . . and be basically empowered to participate in society. As a matter of fact, I'm hoping we produce these excellent holistic individuals to take care of me when I get old and it's time to retire, and to move on in society . . . and that includes African-Americans and I don't stop there. . . . African-Americans at this point in time, we are the largest

with majority/minority, so that's important. African-Americans make significant contributions every day . . . to societies that need to be recognized and our students are going to have to interact in most instances with African-Americans. It's especially important . . . because we produce teachers and these teachers are going . . . into public schools without knowledge of diversity. . . . If there's ever a way to cause African-Americans to become extinct on this earth, that is for them not to receive an education.

Dr. Thomas describes in very practical terms why universities should care about diversity. One reason is to maintain a civil society in which members protect the traditional values upon which this country was founded, while also educating people on how to respect the unique contributions that all cultures make to the maintenance of that civil society.

Dr. Lucy Fox reflected on the obvious in her response. She envisioned diverse communities representing the reality of what must be provided to have proper faculty representation in the future. She suggested:

We are living in a diverse community. You know, everything is not black and white. Everyone has opinions. They should not only recognize our differences, but we need to celebrate our differences and we can't do that unless we are in the same room. I think we can learn, there is so much to learn from each other. There are so many cultural differences just in the same state. Our differences are just so great, and white teachers need to understand black children. black children need to understand white children and white teachers. There is just so much to learn and understand about each other.

Dr. Janice Carter responded concerning the 21st century and society as a whole:

Because in the 21st Century the majority of the students in universities are either going to be super rich or super poor, and if they're super poor they are probably going to come from minority households. Because the university of the 21st Century has projected to be very diverse. If they are to meet the needs of these students, they are going to have to deal with minority faculty. . . . I think there's still going to be a struggle to keep minority faculty on campus because there are no policies in place that say this is what you have to do in order to be effective at an educational institution. All those pieces no longer exist. You see, when I came to [name of college deleted] . . . the Office of Civil Rights was controlling the State

of Virginia and every traditionally white college had X number of black students. . . . They run . . . superficial programs where they bring in a few folk . . . they really don't care whether these kids are successful.

Dr. Janice Carter raises some very crucial issues of public policy in regard to the future of African-Americans in higher education. These policy issues revolve around the question of retrenchment of Affirmative Action programs.

One of the interviewees dealt with issues that surrounded her own special needs that may not hold for most of the minority participants. Ms. Evelyn Taylor voiced these concerns by suggesting, in a round about way, that minority faculty were no different from the majority in terms of publishing and other issues related to academics. However her response is somewhat confused in terms of role modeling and mentoring for colleagues and students. She reported:

Well, first of all you want to get the best brain that's out there, and sometimes the best brain is going to be in a black person's body. . . . The second reason, I'm not sold on the whole issue of role models as some people are. . . . I've learned to get on without it, but I think that it really does help a lot of minority students to see that this person did it. . . . I have serious issues with African-American or minority faculty, the supposed assumption that you are responsible for mentoring, because that's too much of a burden and you have to publish or perish like everybody else in this line of work. . . . To me, it's kind of like white faculty will sometimes slack it off on minority faculty, because they'll just assume that you will have a better communication with this person. That's not always the case. Quite often it is, sometimes it's not. And I haven't done much mentoring, I'll have to admit that.

Two women expressed why they felt minority presence in their institutions would be a benefit. Dr. Faye Holder argued that this was the obvious thing to do because it makes the institution better. She said:

I think that as much, I don't think that anyone could be pressured into doing the sorts of things that perhaps integration has pressured people to do if they didn't really honestly know that somehow that what they have already is lacking if they don't include these other issues. . . . They know they have to be able to provide

those students with a diverse range of faculty teaching, and if they don't the good students are going to go elsewhere. They're not going to come to institutions where they don't see themselves represented. . . . Faculty is really interested . . . they're interested in being able to engage people of various cultures, disciplines, you know, whatever. . . . It just all around makes the institution a better institution and students are going to want to go to an institution where they see these things happening, that are not still left back in the eighteenth century somewhere.

Dr. Marilyn Moore's observations parallel those of Dr. Faye Holder on how minority representation in majority institutions will make the institution better. Dr. Moore suggested:

Well, the one thinking to keep in mind is that the responsibility of the majority institution is not just to educate majority students, but in educating a diverse population that diverse perspectives need to be represented. If they are concerned about presenting a well-rounded perspective, certainly that would be why they would want to care. But if they don't then they don't have any obligation.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes commented on how a university should care about faculty members whether they are African-American or white. She stated:

Well, I think they should care about the African-American faculty just like they would care about any other faculty member. I don't think there's anything all that special about [hiring] African-Americans], it's just that we're faculty. And the way that you would care about any faculty member, I think, should be the same for African-Americans. I don't think that they should get any special consideration, but they should get the consideration that everybody else is getting as well.

Participants felt that universities should care about minority faculty members in order to preserve climates of civility and because diversity improves the overall function of the university. Other respondents argued for fairness in treatment of minorities on campus without regard to historical context or political limitations.

Professional Goals

Concluding questions in this interview were: 1) If you are to succeed in your profession as a faculty member, what do you see as necessary for you to accomplish? 2) What are your academic goals?

To Succeed in Your Profession

Each participant was aware of the academic requirements of writing, publishing, and conducting research to succeed professionally in her institution. Dr. Lucy Fox contacted long distance academic colleagues for support. She has realized she must get help from somewhere in order to do some research. She said:

Well, that was my e-mail message to my friend. I was telling him that I feel professionally dead because I haven't, when I first came I was really into publishing and research and I was able to do it, and now I'm not able to publish, I'm not as motivated as I was to publish as I once was, and that's a concern for me and I really want to get back into it but I just need some support. I need someone to work with and help me get back on the right track and that's not available to me here. . . . I think their attitude is well you publish or you don't publish. And a lot of them are able to publish . . . And I just need, and I've really been praying about this thing and thinking about this thing. I really like doing the research and I like publishing, but students have to succeed and if I'm not there for them, because people were there for me when I was coming through. . . . There's absolutely no one here. There's not a soul on this hall who knows how I feel, and that's my biggest concern or crisis in my life.

The view expressed by Dr. Lucy Fox is widely held by many African-American junior faculty members. They do not have any mentors to guide them through the exercise of a research agenda and many times they are the only African-American faculty members in the department. This further fuels concern for isolation and its impact on the tenure process.

Dr. Faye Holder wants her institution to support professional research projects.

Dr. Holder suggested that African-American women faculty in particular, and women faculty in general, need release time to further their professional goals. She reported:

The attempt to make a permanent commitment to the kind of work that I do, you know, things like continuing the black studies concentration, . . . some of the people here object. . . . I think people in places that have influence . . . Boards of Visitors and things of that sort, don't see interdisciplinary studies as viable. And I don't mean that as . . . racial . . . but I think long-term commitments to these things are what's necessary to make us effective. . . . I think the institution has to be committed to continuing the kind of work that we're doing. I think in terms of my own personal way of contributing, I think I just need to continue, as I said, doing the kinds of things I'm doing now. Not necessarily in administrative work, but certainly participating in recruiting and various areas that I can participate in. On search committees when we're looking for new faculty. I do have to be active and play an active role. I think that's the point, [the] situation has to continue to be supportive in terms of financial support. That could be in terms of leaves, you know, time off to do some of the work that I can't do as long as I'm teaching and doing all the administrative stuff. . . . I want to be writing more and doing more research, and keeping current . . . with the issues that are out there that are being debated. And the only way you can do that is to have time to do that. . . . I think this institution has to show that they're not sort of like doing the trendy thing.

Dr. Marilyn Moore's thoughts on professional success surround the goal of promotion. She alluded to her desire to go for promotion and not just be satisfied with tenure. She suggested:

Certainly to achieve tenure, but then certainly to attain promotion. . . . It gets back to that initial recurrent theme that I talked about related to achieving tenure and it's an ongoing struggle. It's not enough just to achieve tenure and say that you can rest on your laurels, but you have to continually perform. So not necessarily that I have to be the most outstanding faculty member throughout the entire university, but I at least want to be someone that's not labeled as the worst one either.

Dr. Tia Thomas, Dr. Lilly Hobbes, and Dr. Janice Carter strongly agree that as typical faculty they must engage in research. However, they are also concerned that there

are other pressures that consume their time and energies. Dr. Thomas knows she must increase her scholarly production. She stated:

Research. If I've learned one thing in this predominantly white higher education institution, the primary concern or focus is on writing. And I say it in that manner not because this is something that I don't want to do. I do, but at the same time because I'm African-American I am called to serve in every capacity on this campus possible, and where is the time for me to teach, to be scholarly, and to serve on every committee, to answer all the questions about African-Americans which I do not know. . . . I'm going to have to learn how to balance. I'm going to learn how to say no, because I have to be scholarly. I want to educate this campus or this community in understanding that the work that I do in my classroom for my students and with my students is scholarly. All of the times that I am invited to speak at some other college or in some region or state is scholarly. But if you don't have your book written, it just doesn't matter.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes will publish and write grants. She will keep teaching as an important part of her career goal. However, as the following passage reveals, her primary focus will be on the scholarly aspect of her profession:

Publish, write grants, publish, write grants, publish, write grants. I mean, teaching is in there too. Teaching is very important. Teaching is important to me from a personal standpoint, and so it's important to me that I do a very good job in what I teach and the way I teach it, but the bottom line is you've got to get published and you've got to write grants and get money.

Dr. Janice Carter, described issues concerning organization of time and prioritizing initiatives for continuing success for herself and for her students. Dr. Carter stated:

To remain sane. Not kill anybody. To stay on top of my field and the areas that I am responsible for teaching and to make sure that my students have the best knowledge that is out there and that they are ready to assume rightful places in the world of work and that they get good jobs when they can into social security and I can get my check every month.

Ms. Evelyn Taylor knows she must publish in order to get a promotion at her university and keeps putting it off. She reported: "I need to publish and I haven't done--I have done one editorial. I need to do more committee [work] . . . the national committees, and I know this, but I just keep putting it off."

Academic goals

The participants were secure with their academic goal choices. They had goals of becoming full professors, traveling, writing, and having financial success. Time schedules and learning were high priorities.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes has her time period already planned. Her goal is to become a full professor. She says, "Well, to become full professor . . . I don't now, I guess my projected time schedule is within the next five years. I want to be full professor or at least close to it."

Ms. Evelyn Taylor, the non-traditional faculty member, was unclear about her next professional step. She said:

I do know that I need to apply for promotion if I stick around here, and I'm worried. I don't think I have enough to make it. That's probably another reason for me to consider leaving. They won't fire me, but it's not going to be great that I'm turned down for promotion.

Dr. Lucy Fox had the most well defined set of career goals. Her goals included concerns for success not only for herself, but also for her students and for her institution.

She stated:

I would like to publish more. I would like to, now I've learned a lot. I've really learned a lot being here. I've learned about my profession, I've learned about teaching, because this is my first teaching assignment. I never taught before coming here. I've learned about teaching, about ways of white folks, and all that's

important. I guess my ultimate goal would be to end up at a predominantly black institution and be a role model and to help. You know, here I feel like I'm helping black students, but I don't really feel like I'm helping the institution, but at a predominantly black institution I feel that I could do both and that's important to me. I would like to eventually teach at a predominantly black school.

Dr. Faye Holder described success as being able to capture the essence of her travels in her work. She wants to publish her works like the writers she studies and reads about by traveling to the places where these events took place. She eventually wants to become a full professor:

I want to make a lot of money, and I know that that's really iffy in this profession. You know, my feeling is I would like to make enough money so that I could just, when the weekend specials to Paris come along, I can just say, "Oh yes, right, I'm going." I want to be a full professor. It would be nice sometime or other to have an endowed chair if I can get my work done so that I qualify for an endowed chair. And I think, so to keep writing and I definitely want to have other books published. I have projects that I have in mind, so those really are my goals. I don't want to be president of some college or dean or provost. I really don't like administrative work, and so I don't necessarily want to do that. I could see them maybe at some point saying would you be an official director of black studies here, but that wouldn't be a goal of mine. That would just be something I do, again, if I thought it was necessary to keep the program going, but my goals have to do with writing and teaching.

Dr. Tia Thomas will teach herself. She will use the experiences from the institutions she has attended and the professors she has encountered. Her goal is to keep reading and learning.

My academic goals personally? Well, I finally have the Ph.D. And as I told you earlier, the one thing that I've learned from that process is how much I don't know. Academically for me means that I will continue to read as much as I can on a regular basis. . . . going to stay abreast academically. . . . Everyone else has taught me, in other words. I've been through a number of different professors and schools, and they've taught me using their mechanisms and their methods, and now it's time for me to be able to practice on my own. So I'm going to be considered a self-taught woman in one area of specialty. Now my dream I know that I cannot fulfill, because my family said "No, you won't," and that is to get another degree in law. And they said "No way!. We will no longer be your family.

Dr. Janice Carter is ready to transform her historical learning and teachings to written accounts of her academic career. She wants to add technology to her portfolio of professional attributes. She observed:

I don't know. I want to do some writing. I want to do something in multi-media. I really would like to develop a computer lab, an interactive computer lab for social workers. For human behavioral students, focusing on interviewing skills, assessment skills, and those kinds of things. That's what I'd like to do.

Dr. Marilyn Moore wants to continue her professional growth. Dr. Moore wants to find a more challenging position in a research hospital.

Participant Closing Comments

To conclude the interviews, each participant was given an opportunity to provide some closing thoughts on their particular institution. The interviewer instructed them to reflect on any aspect desired. Given this latitude, the women spoke to mentoring efforts and venues to help cope with racism. Other interviewees described the importance of spiritual guidance and helping students make choices when looking for role models. Tenure and promotion were part of the concerns expressed by the women. The women were also interested in helping faculty members increase teaching excellence.

Dr. Lucy Fox thinks the majority institution will have to provide more mentoring with choices for minority faculty members. She said:

No. It's not that. I just think that there should be more effort toward mentoring for new faculty, minority faculty. There should be an option. I should be able to go and look at a list of faculty who said that they would be interested in mentoring new colleagues or whatever, and I think that for me, once I came that wasn't in place for me, and I really pretty much, it was hell my first couple of years here. Figuring things out for yourself. People really aren't as friendly as they say they are. Just basic stuff. No one will say, and then I could see that they knew that

they were supposed to do those things, but they just chose not to do them for me, and the reason I can say that is because I saw them doing it for other people. If it's a new faculty person, offer mentoring. Don't force it on them, offer mentoring. And mentoring is going to help you with your teaching. Mentoring is going to help you learn the university. Mentoring is going to help you set a research agenda. Mentoring is going to help you follow-up and learn the ropes. . . . And then I think that there should be, there may be this already here in the State of Virginia, black faculty. Is there such a thing? There needs to be an association of black faculty in the State of Virginia, because if I'm not getting it here on campus, I need to get it somewhere . . . Especially if you're single . . . you go home, and I guess I'm just supposed to talk to myself about it. But I think those two would be the ones.

Ms. Evelyn Taylor would like to sharpen her senses about racism. She would take feedback as a helping tool for survival in a majority institution. She said:

There hasn't been any overt racism. There may have been covert racism and I think, though, I wasn't asking people to give me feedback when I first came. And I'm just speculating this, because no one has ever told me this, though I did raise the issue with a colleague once. I think most people probably were unwilling to give me feedback because it might be construed as racist criticism, that I would take it the wrong way because I'm black. As a rule, I don't think too much about being the only black. In fact, we haven't had a black person even make the final cut, because I've been on four search committees.

Dr. Lilly Hobbes spoke of the need for a religious background to help one cope with attending and working in a majority institution. That has been the most helpful thing for her. She stated:

I think the only other thing I would share with African-Americans is that when they're placed in a setting like this, that they don't forget their religious background. I think that's been probably the most helpful for me here is the fact that I've had . . . strong religious background and I think when things were difficult for me here, that's what helped me get through. The fact that I had a God that I believed in, and believed in strongly, and when I felt . . . very helpless to influence a lot of the things that happened around me and to me, that I always knew that there was a power that was stronger than me and stronger than anybody here. I felt that I would come out okay if I kept the faith and believed the way I knew I should. . . . I think that as an African-American, we get so involved in becoming politically correct and making the necessary connections, and that's necessary and that's good, but for me it wasn't first and foremost and that's why

my church is very, very important to me and it's important to me that I do have time committed to doing what I need to do.

Dr. Marilyn Moore will continue to respond to questions asked of her colleagues. She is committed to students seeing other African-Americans as role models. She said:

Well, I think the [words not audible] . . . to being here and I often get the question asked, well wouldn't you prefer working at a predominantly African-American institution if your goal is to be able to influence African-American students, and I can say that is my only goal. The one thing that I think is probably more crucial for an African-American student attending a predominantly white institution is to be able to see someone here who they could see as a role model or someone that they could identify with. That wouldn't be an issue for an African-American student attending a predominantly African-American college, because more likely there would be more faculty there to provide that support. I do realize that simply because I'm African-American, it doesn't mean that I can't be a mentor or role model for a student from a different ethnic background. I certainly would be able to say I did it, you can do it too, regardless of what your color is, with some hard work and determination. The other piece of it is that too often majority individuals may have some misconceptions about what an African person is, what they do and how they think . . . so in another sense it could be providing a real picture of what this person is like. Not necessarily what all African-Americans are like.

Dr. Tia Thomas had a lot of personal information to share because of controversial events leading up to her tenure. She was listed as tenured by her university, but she still has battles to fight regarding this phase of her professional career. She said:

Let me review your cover letter for a moment. I would like to share personal information with you about obstacles that I am currently facing in terms of tenure at [deleted university name]. . . . My evaluation for tenure and promotion came at a time when we were going through a transition with our administrators, and my evaluation went before, a glowing report. As a matter of fact, every evaluation that I've ever had since I've been here in terms of my teaching and my student evaluations have been well above average. . . . As a nontenured instructor, I received one of the highest or the highest award here on campus for my teaching ability, and that was the [university name deleted] student-faculty award which was given to me in the form of a medallion, and a monetary gift at Commencement a few years back, 1992. So here I am in a transition. I had my entire file in place according to the faculty manual. The committee believes that I have met and exceeded all of the criteria for tenure and promotion. The department chair concurs. The dean concurs and adds a statement that I will highly recommend.

We have a new vice president who was not here while I was negotiating my contract. However, a new president said that "it went before him," and when he reviewed my professional file, he indicated that I had not met what he perceived a sufficient level in scholarliness. I asked him to define scholarliness. I had written a dissertation, unpublished, and he put numbers on publications in essence. Well we need X number of publications and the statement that took me aback at that time was, "I have reviewed with interest your professional file and there is nowhere that I see you have another minute of time to do anything. You are giving more than most people here on this campus and many other campuses, and it would be in error for me to say to you, give up some of those other activities, so I won't say it to you, but at the same time you have to publish." "Yes", he says, "I am aware of past practices at [university name deleted]. . . . Yes, I am new and I bring with me my practices and my interpretations of policies and, unfortunately then, you are caught in the middle of that." Therefore, I was promoted, but without tenure. And furthermore, he said, you aren't really making enough money. You should be making more money, you should have more of this and more of that to be tenured. Well, my response was what else do I do. I am very student-oriented, and believe it or not I haven't given that up this year. By de facto policy law, I am tenured. Why? Because they've allowed me to stay here in a tenure-track position. I've had a contract every year for 10 years and it only takes 7. And that's why I was included on the tenured faculty list. And it should be good for you to know that I am following carefully every step in terms of securing rightfully my tenure, and I'm at the last step now, which is the faculty status committee and they will be reviewing my situation and determining only one thing and that's all I want to know. Was the policy in effect applied to my situation correctly? And I'm going to obtain in writing my tenure. But these are battles that African-Americans, especially women, don't need to fight. I have too many other battles every day just to stay afloat. That's the feminist part. I still go home and be Mommy.

Dr. Janice Carter already understands the controversial and often contradictory aspects of academic culture. She had aspirations and visions about what college teaching necessitates. She reported:

I used to think that being a teacher on a college campus must be the greatest job in the world. I have learned that academia is crazy as all get out and it attracts some really, really weird people, and you have to really struggle to keep your teaching objectives clear. It's the simple things like in colleges, the main concern is FTEs, headcount, how many folk do you have in class? Nobody cares what they're really learning. Nobody asks you, I mean you could have a class of nine students and that's all you need because you want it really interactive. Say you have a simulated

group kind of experience and you're teaching group therapy. That wouldn't go over well, because it doesn't generate enough FTEs. Higher education has been a real learning experience. All those fantasies I used to have didn't pan out. But I've enjoyed it and I've learned a lot and I'd probably do it all over again, except next time I'd be the college president.

Dr. Faye Holder's concluding remarks combine in one sentence the essence of the interviews. She felt that it was important to "provide a real picture of what . . . African-Americans are like."

The purpose of this study was to document the experiences of tenured African-American women faculty employed within white, public institutions of higher education in Virginia. The experiences of Dr. Janice Carter, Dr. Tia Thomas, Dr. Marilyn Moore, Dr. Lucy Fox, Dr. Lilly Hobbes, Ms. Evelyn Taylor, and Dr. Faye Holder were captured in the in-depth interviews of these women. These women discussed career paths, work life, gender and race issues, role models and mentors, the future of female minority faculty in Historically White public institutions of higher education, and why these institutions should care about minority presence. These women discussed institutional agendas and personal agendas relating to their survival in their majority institutions of higher education.

The participants provided a provocative and insightful portrait of the experiences and work life of African-American women in institutions of higher education in Virginia. The interviewees were devoted to academe and pledged themselves to redefine the record of African-American women in higher education and to continue the struggle for equality. Institutional environments and academic experiences affected the lives of these African-American women. These women identified the existence of institutional established values and limited institutional support.

As can be seen through the experiences extrapolated for the summary of findings in Chapter 5, the focus for these women suggested attention to issues on research and scholarly activities, self, isolation, race, diversity, barriers, and work life environments. The information gathered from the study can be applied as a format for understanding experiences of African-American women in higher education throughout the southern region of the United States and perhaps the nation. Future research in this area should address regional particularities within the scope of a national framework through which to describe the African-American woman's experience.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS and REFLECTIONS

Summary of Purpose

This dissertation used qualitative research to document the work experiences of African-American women faculty members in the University of Virginia System. This study will provide a grounded recording for other researchers who wish to explore the work life experiences of African-American women within Historically White, public , institutions of higher education.

Summary of Findings

Five research questions shaped the interviews of seven tenured African-American women working within Historically White public institutions of higher education in Virginia. The research questions were:

- (1) What are the professional activities of the participants?
- (2) What perception do participants have of themselves?
- (3) What do participants perceive as institutional barriers that hamper or prevent career advancement?
- (4) What do participants perceive as the attitudes held by colleagues?
- (5) What are the work conditions of the participants?

McKay (1997) stated: "Education is familiar ground for black women since it was always one of the few respectable professions open to the group" (p. 13). The women

interviewed for this research were very competent and extremely hardworking professionals. They were also energetic. The interviewer's observations of four of them interacting with students demonstrated a genuine caring for and understanding of the needs of college students.

The rapport between the interviewees and their colleagues seemed to be distant but professional. Russell (1994) observed:

programs should be developed that enhance the presence and contributions of minorities in [areas such as] educational research. Achieving diversity in the educational research community is not only the right policy; it is also the most prudent and viable policy given the changing demographics in the United States. (p.26)

This is particularly true when examining the professional experiences of African-American women faculty members in Virginia.

For example, issues concerning autonomy, choice, and participation begin with the responsibility of empowering these women through acceptance of their research agendas. Most of the interviewees voiced concerns about establishing a research agenda. African-American women faculty engage in research they believe important, but not necessarily research that their institution or colleagues believe to be important.

Chamberlain (1988), Andrews (1993), and Bassett (1992) corroborated this observation. Bassett studied how African-Americans must function with limited resources. Andrews studied how working with cultural networks in order to obtain equal pay, tenure and reach professional goals requires networking. Chamberlain identified subtle forms of discrimination associated with charting a path to become a permanent member of an institution.

Ambiguity is usually associated with African-American scholars' choice concerning research agendas. African-American scholars feel that their work is marginalized in the dominant academic culture. Olsen, Maple, and Stage (1995) corroborated this finding and suggested further that an examination of the link between institutional support coupled with departmental support is predictive of African-American woman's professional success.

The participants reflected similar attitudes to those faculty members Russell (1994) described as needing guidance in scholarly activities. They expressed a need for help in getting on track and for finding the time to continue academic work they had started. Books were put on hold because of newly assigned departmental duties, research on historical aspects of the community were met with resistance, and monies were running out on previously funded grants.

The majority of African-American women in this study were clearly overburdened with work and responsibilities, which produced anxiety over promotion decisions. The participants felt that they could meet the promotion criteria if time were available to pursue the necessary scholarly activities. These women feel that they missed out on professional opportunities due to their over-extension in other areas, such as teaching, advising, and committee work. One illustration of time-consuming demands is reflected in the experiences of several interviewees who hold joint appointments within a home department and an African Studies program and/or a Women's Studies program. These particular interviewees are required to develop the curriculum and teach the courses in African Studies programs and Women's Studies programs with no release time, while

maintaining home departmental responsibilities. The only consolation McKay (1997) found in this kind of endeavor was the removal of some of the isolation factors by bringing the largest number of African-American faculty into a group space.

Moreover, several of the women indicated that in order to introduce African-American aspects into a given curriculum, they were required to develop and teach those courses. Again, the women dealt with subtle institutional mindsets concerning their academic training, worth, and tokenism. Promotion and tenure issues were entrenched in work loads, unique student encounters, political games, mentor responsibilities, grant writing, publishing, and the overall academic responsibilities of a professor.

All of the women indicated the need to start thinking about themselves more, and at the same time still be very professional in their work. The belief that they do twice as much in order to be recognized professionally seemed to cut across all the interviews. Carey (1990) has described this phenomenon of doing twice as much as “a super woman syndrome.”

Boice (1993) has written about the isolation African-American women feel in their careers. For example, in one of the interviews, the participant described how she worked through her daily routine by shutting her office door to stop the rejection she felt when trying to become a part of the department. In this vein, this isolation represents another dimension as internal conflict that was discussed in Chapter Two.

Davis (1994) addressed experiences surrounding the nonsupportive work environments encountered by African-American women. She suggested that the academic environment presented obstacles that resulted in cool encounters between African-

American women and their white counterparts. The women were consistent in revealing their inability to prevent race from being a factor in their careers. Whether they were dealing with colleagues, administrators, the community, or their students, these women acknowledged the presence of potential overt and covert racial incidents. These incidents occurred with their counterparts in their respective departments, with students in the classroom, in campus encounters, and in community struggles.

Parson, Sands, and Duane (1991), in a study of African-American females, indicated that chilly and overt discrimination existed on Historically White campuses. The existing climate created an uncomfortable atmosphere and undermined the productivity for those women. African-American women in Virginia experience the same type of climate.

Garcia (1993) acknowledged that research showed that cultural diversity provides all students with much-needed role models, challenges stereotypes of minorities the educational community may hold, and, most importantly, reinforces the democratic ideals of equality and equity.

The interviewer found strong opinions from the interviewees related to increasing minority faculty in higher education.

One participant stated:

We are living in a diverse community. Everything is not black and white.

Everyone has opinions. They should not only recognize our differences, but we need to celebrate our differences, and we can't do that unless we are in the same room. . . . There are so many cultural differences just in the same state.

Interviewee perceptions of other barriers included their relationships with colleagues in the department. These women felt challenged to educate and create sensitivity concerning issues of diversity.

Peterson (1990) confirmed the phenomenon of environment determining encounters African-American women in higher education might experience. Broonstein, Rothblum, and Solomon (1993) spoke about interpersonal climates and invisible walls as factors interrupting the flow of academic participation by minority institutional members. Participants in the interview indicated that their colleagues were short on conversation in the day-to-day routines of these women. Structured departmental and university-wide appointments usually created the arena for communication. There were two interviewees who used lunch hours as a way to create a social atmosphere with colleagues. However, the overall impression in reading and listening to the testimonies of the participants led the observer to believe that these women were reduced to assuming reclusive behavior.

Part of the work environment is comprised of departmental meetings, college-wide meetings, and university-wide meetings. These women were alone in regard to African-American representation in many of these settings. The need existed for permanent diversity. Barrett (1993) discussed the need for a pipeline of available and qualified students and faculty from underrepresented groups.

The women interviewed discussed avenues such as mentoring to deal with the hidden and overt behaviors associated with working in a Historically White institution. One way is through mentoring. Parson, Sands, and Duane (1991) defined mentoring as “an informal interpersonal means of career development reflective of an atmosphere of

academic collegiality” (p. 19). Occasions caused for the over-use of African-American female faculty as mentors, as expressed by professors who were required to supervise African-American students in a variety of experiential learning environments. Mentoring becomes a vitally important aspect to the success of African-Americans in the academy. These women respected the experiences mentors shared to assist them to progress in the academy. The women in the study felt an obligation to pass that strength on to students, colleagues, and the larger university community.

Participants in this study responded to the issue of mentoring by suggesting that they were outside the loop that provides comprehensive advisement on how to proceed within the academic community. For example, the interviewees stated:

Administration has been setting priorities. You’re not necessarily what your own priority should be if you have too much to do and not enough time to do it in. But anyway, this is also a place where if you want mentoring you have to ask for it.

Or, as another interviewee replied:

Well, I mean it’s kind of strange because I didn’t really have a role model per se. My mentors (name of university deleted). . . were kind of late in coming, but they were two people that I met while I was doing my post-doctoral fellowship . . . [They were] very good mentors for me.

And a last reply from an interviewee regarding mentoring stated:

I’ve had a number of mentors at (name of university deleted) . . . associated with my involvement as an American Nurses minority fellow. In that arrangement, I was paired with some outstanding African-American nurse leaders that I had read about, [or worked with] I read somewhere I worked while going to school. . . . The other piece of it is that too often majority individuals may have some misconceptions about what an African person is, what they do and how they think, and whatever; so, in another sense it could be providing a real picture of what this person is like, not necessarily what all African-Americans are like.

These responses on mentoring coincide with what Gonzalez (1994) found attesting to the personal and mentoring needs in the professional experiences of minority female researchers in the process of becoming assistant professors. For African-American women, there appeared to be the same disregard for mentoring that has been experienced by other minority women in Historically White institutions of higher education. Mentoring for the women in this study was based on a formal relationship that focused on mutual research interests.

This study also corroborates Gonzalez's (1994) findings that faculty were forced to have perfect strangers with similar interest and research goals to support their endeavors. All too often, mentors for these African-American women were long distance mentors. Gonzalez (1994) depicted situations in which many white scholars served as mentors to minority women. Gonzalez noted that race or gender issues are secondary when the appropriate mentor can be identified. These mentors may serve as resources on specific research issues. The women in this study did not seem to find inviting circumstances when they sought assistance for personal or professional needs from departmental colleagues. Mentoring situations were not prevalent for these African-American women.

On the other hand, students seemed to help these women cope with the realities of indifference they received from some colleagues. These African-American females were committed to producing students capable of surviving in the Twenty-first Century. The participants demonstrated this propensity toward faculty/student mentoring by the routines the interviewer observed.

The published works of these African-American women and the information extracted from the interview process demonstrated their commitment to education. As role models, they were prepared to engage in scholarly growth. They also valued the role they play in assisting diverse populations to survive in Historically White public institutions. These African-American women also encouraged the Historically White public institutions they served to care about the demographic reality confronting the future of higher education.

Although these women valued their privacy, they maintained contact with their students through the use of various mediums. Students were able to e-mail, telephone, or page these faculty members at any time. Interviews were frequently interrupted by what seemed to be crisis situations of students. Four of the women were particularly expert in defusing situations and helping students “get back on track” in order to be productive in their assignments.

Evidence from the interviews indicated the path these women took to enter into higher education. They arrived in academe through both planned and unplanned career goals. The jobs they held before entering academe varied. For example, they worked in internships, retail, and fast food. In their own words, these were “hometown girls” returning to teach at the neighborhood college or more mobile women assuming positions that would be better for them professionally.

When the women described themselves in their daily lives, game playing and the amount of energy they used in “playing the game,” cut across their comments. They were

women holding multiple roles on campus as African-American females, mentors, big sisters, and administrators. They also served as community leaders.

Because of the confidence level of these women, gender issues did not disrupt their professional careers. Yet, they were quick to note that race, not gender, hampered working in a comfortable environment. These women felt they were unsupported in the battle to belong in the academy.

Moreover, the participants were definite about the impact of not having role models and mentors, which affected the quality of their work life. Role models and mentors participated in the development of some of the women during their early years. Those referencing family and community have had support in the beginning of their careers. Two women did not really see the need for role models or mentors, but they still alluded to possible encounters with professionals who may have influenced some of their career choices. These women obtained strength from their role models and mentors. Some of their role models were of the distant nature, such as Jeanetta Cole, Niara Sudarkasa, Gloria Scott, African-American male writers, and Mary McLeod Bethune; these individuals did not render personal contact, but influenced the lives of these women.

Work life for the seven African-American women interviewed represented long hours spent with students and limited encounters both professionally and socially with colleagues. The women experienced casual, friendly, and pleasant work conditions, but noted how “occasional-ceremonial,” planned activities were the norm with their colleagues rather than spontaneous social interactions. One woman felt they just had to get used to

her and she had to get used to them. Being thick skinned and weighing the trust level caused the women to work harder than they sometimes felt they should.

Their hard work promoting student success seemed to cause a dilemma when the women would speak to how they needed to start thinking about themselves. If they start to say “no,” to time spent with the student activities, then they would have to create controversial situations calling for cutting help time out of professional aspirations to satisfy student needs required by the department and the university.

As the interviewer personally witnessed their dedication, it was difficult for these women to make a choice between student needs or professional ambition. During the interview process, three of the participants stated that this was the first time in many months that they had actually thought about the research agendas they had neglected because of new responsibilities and work loads. They implied that it was time for them to prioritize their activities in order to take care of their future professional goals. The environment was always extremely challenging for these women.

This study gathered a portrait of: (1) characteristics, (2) work life, (3) activities, (3) future challenges, (4) ways of succeeding as a professional and other academic practices of African-American female faculty members. Ancillary issues forming the basis for the interviews included experiences, work life, internal conflicts, isolation, mentoring, and professional development. Five broad-based questions were addressed in the research questions:

1. What are the professional activities of the participants?
2. What perception do participants have of themselves?

3. What do participants perceive as institutional barriers that hamper or prevent career advancement?
4. What do the participants perceive are the attitudes held by colleagues?
5. What are the work conditions of the participants?

Conclusions

African-American women faculty members in higher education are still struggling to enter into the academic mainstream. They are currently working in different and uncertain environments. Being African-American and female places the women in this study in a subordinate role. They were expected to be outstanding teachers, serve on university committees, and to establish a mature research agenda that would lead to promotion. The women cultivated their academic strength with their willingness to participate in a hierarchical academic structure. Intelligence, strength, courage, dedication, foresight, and a commitment by these African-American women will redefine the record and continue the struggle for equitable participation in higher education. This struggle defines the African-American experience in higher education. African-Americans, particularly women, have had to confront stereotypes and lowered expectations for achievement as part of the shibboleth in American higher education.

The in-depth interviews of these women and the impression left on the interviewer definitely confirm the need to record the lives of African-American females working within Historically White public institutions of higher education. This type of research can serve as a heuristic in understanding how institutions can best utilize the unique talents of its faculty. African-American women bring a diversity to the institution that is grounded in

their understanding of the world and their unique place in that world. Therefore, the experiences of African-American academics are elevated to the same level as those of the dominant group within the academic hierarchy. After the interview, one of the participants said she felt as if the interviewer had been working in the same college for the same length of time. She considered the interviewer as a distant colleague. This identification came after reading the research questions. She felt they were questions designed from someone observing her work life and her professional career.

This research effort enhanced the interviewer's understanding of how institutional, cultural, and academic experiences impact the professional lives of a selected number of African-American women in Virginia. Institutional issues such as tenure, promotion, publication, and service impact these African-American women in a unique way. African-American women have not been privy to the inner workings of the academy. They are the newest people hired in academic positions and as a result do not have a well established network system. While the dominant group is able to engage in collaborative research and grantsmanship opportunities that result from the professional networking process, African-American women are in the developmental stages of building appropriate academic networking systems. These women must be able to contend with what they read as policy, coupled with what they are able to extrapolate from conversations pertaining to the culture of their institution. The unknown agendas that influence their success must be captured in unexpected situations such as encounters with colleagues, administrators, staff, and students. Although these women represent a variety of institutions, they all contend that research and publication is vitally important to their academic survival.

The interviewer learned that institutions' established cultural values dictated paths for policy procedures. These women were not always made aware of those procedures. In this respect, institutions are conservative in defining their values for academic success. These institutions still demand that African-American women compete within the dominant paradigm of research, scholarship, and publication without the knowledge of procedure and policy information.

Institutional support for these women was somewhat limited. There did not appear to be an institutional infrastructure to accommodate diversity. Institutions do not identify individuals for special support. Moreover, institutions tended to look at African-American women as a "group" rather than as individuals. This grouping effect tends to categorize African-American women in terms of gender and race. When African-American women are grouped in this fashion, their roles are prescribed by the institution informally as nurturing and supporting existing institutional priorities. Ironically, this type of nurturing becomes the albatross that limits their professional development. African-American women become the advisors for sororities, role models for African-American female students, and the departmental expert on African-American issues. They get side-tracked into soft money positions funded through grant writing, which is needed to pay for travel, and they are kept outside of the information loop. These institutional barriers were evident in every institution under investigation participating in this study.

More research is needed to extrapolate the many significant variables in the African-American woman's experiences in Historically White public institutions of Higher education. Research would show how African-American women are stimulated to acquire

knowledge. There would also be studies to understand the lack of concentrated levels of emotional support and socialization that are needed by these women to meet the demands of Historically White public institutions. These studies should explore regional differences, institutional differences, and ethnic differences that African-American women experience.

Future research in this area should explore demographic changes in the number of African-American women entering undergraduate school and matriculating through graduate and professional schools. Findings from these studies would enhance the development of supportable programs at the institutional level incorporating concrete steps to help these women succeed. Studies that look at career paths should focus on the rural and urban influences that enhance opportunities for higher education for women.

This focus on future research would give educational institutions and educational stakeholders significant information on African-American women that could facilitate their successful transition into the academy. The increase in knowledge of their values, demeanor, organizational habits, and habitual manners would provide concrete knowledge that could produce a dynamic change in Historically White public institutions. The African-American woman might become an integrated participant of the institution while still holding on to their individual behaviors. The new institution might be a change agent for society, modeling and welcoming diversity as an operating phenomenon of their existence.

Future placements must correspond to the needs of African-American women and the wishes of the institutions. A cooperative environment endorsed by the institution

would constitute equal participation and communication between the constituents in academe.

Recommendations

In order to fully integrate African-American women into the academy, fundamental structural change will have to take place. These changes include, but not limited to, the following:

1. Institutions should provide an environment that supports African-American women faculty. Perhaps a formal organization that would be institutional, state-wide, and national in scope, would help. Then African-American women could define their problems, establish professional goals and priorities, and develop a comprehensive networking mechanism that can identify mentors, publishing outlets, and professional development opportunities from their perspective within a supportive organization. The National Institute of Education instituted policies to initiate questions that would help obtain answers to the needs of minority women. (Diener & Owens, 1984). Obiakor and Barker (1993) spoke to the need to adopt nontraditional modes to meet the needs of African-Americans confronted with problems in Historically White public institutions.
2. Institutions should establish comprehensive hiring policies that cover every department and unit in the institution. These policies should identify pools of candidates in anticipation for future hires. A databank of names would provide alternatives for hiring purposes. Administrative accountability would be in place to ensure

departmental, school and university wide compliance guides the institutions goals to diversify.

3. Institutions should increase opportunities and hold departments and schools accountable for resources that enhance research and publication for African-American women. These resources could be used for travel to professional conferences, release time for research, equipment needs, and research assistance.
4. University scholars programs should be designed for African-American women to serve as professors invited by the institution with the possibility for future appointment.

Institutions should identify talented women undergraduates and encourage them to pursue graduate studies.
5. African-American women should be canvassed for their views on what criteria should be included in making tenure decisions. Increased knowledge of written and unwritten tenure policies should create an equal playing field for the African-American. The study of likenesses and differences of different cultures would complement the common goal of promotion and tenure.
6. As stakeholders in higher education, African-American women will have to develop mechanisms outside the existing paradigm that define alternative role models and mentors. These women will have to join the ranks of the majority without losing heritage and individual ideas on research agendas and academic participation in and out of the classroom. African-American women will have to find new frames of

reference that define professional success. They will need to join together in nontraditional venues to instill cooperation and acceptance into these institutions.

These recommendations are not exhaustive. They merely serve to highlight what institutions and African-American women can do to enhance their presence at Historically White institutions. The intentional inclusion and concrete relationships in Historically White institutions will establish a grounded interest for the participation of African-American women in the academy. This research is in its infancy. The voices of African-American women in the academy are just now being heard.

Nikki Giovanni placed the African-American experience in perspective:

If there has been one overwhelming effort made by blacks since the beginning of our American sojourn, it has been the belief in the need to obtain education. Those of you who are looking now at colleges are pioneers. Every pioneer looks at a horizon, and sometimes that horizon can look so far that it seems safer and easier to go back. College is a great, though difficult, adventure. Those of you who find your way there, like our ancestors on stormy seas, like our foreparents forging their way on the underground railroad, like your grandparents working against legal segregation, like your parent sitting in, kneeling in, praying in the sixties, know that once again, black Americans are being called to be our best selves. Knowledge is power. May that force be with you. (Wilson, 1995, p. 93)

Notes to future researchers

For those undertakings in the in-depth interview process, preparation efforts are worth their weight in gold. Feeling comfortable with questions and knowing that persistence is one virtue necessary for convincing interviewees of the worth of their responses becomes an art. Honesty, trust, and a comfort level adequately disseminated during the interview process is critical.

Qualitative research takes an interviewer capable of displacing self thoughts, values, and impressions so that unbiased information is gleaned from the conversations. The interviewees must know that the interviewer will to the best of their ability, convey the messages from the interview responses.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: AUDIT OF TAPES AND TRANSCRIPTION VERIFICATION

AUDIT OF TAPES AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

This is to certify that as Assistant professor of Sociology, Hampton University, I Zina S. McHe, on this date 6/15/98, have conducted an audit of tapes and transcriptions concerning interviews with tenured African-American female faculty members working within predominantly White state institutions of higher education in Virginia. Likewise, I do here by confirm that to the best of my ability, the transcriptions are accurate representations of those audio tapes. I pledge with this to keep the information confidential.

APPENDIX B: LETTER TO UNIVERSITY ATTORNEY

October 23, 1997

Dear Sir/Madame,

I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Leadership, Higher Education, and Policy Analysis at East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.

Presently, I am in the process of completing my dissertation prospectus which proposes to investigate the characteristics of full time, tenured, African-American females in higher education, in Virginia. To accomplish this I am asking you to please provide me the names, telephone numbers, and addresses of the African-American females employed by your university in order that I may mail each of them a schedule and arrange interview dates. Please include department names.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated and will help expedite the completion of my dissertation and a May graduation goal.

Yours sincerely,

Annette Wilson
Doctoral Candidate
Dr. Hal Knight
Major Professor and Assistant Dean
College of Education

APPENDIX C: LETTER TO AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN FACULTY

January 15, 1998

Dear Faculty Member:

I am currently engaged in a doctoral study program at East Tennessee State University. My dissertation topic involves the tenured African-American, female, faculty member, employed by Historically White public institutions of higher education in Virginia.

This study focuses on the characteristics, activities, and work life of tenured African-American female, faculty members in Virginia. Your personal background, educational experiences, career experiences, higher education professional activities, and work life are a part of the data needed for this study.

You have been chosen to participate in an in-depth interview. The interview will consist of written notes and a tape recording by the interviewer. I would like to arrange a date and time that would provide for the interview to take place in your work environment. From the information received, a profile will be developed of African-American female faculty in Virginia employed by Historically White institutions of higher education. The sample of African-American tenured female faculty is relatively small; therefore, virtually 100 percent cooperation from all African-American faculty are needed. The adequacy of the profile is dependent upon its truly being representative of all African-American female faculty involved.

I will contact you by phone in order to arrange the interview date and time. All data gathered will be held in the strictest confidence. The findings will be grouped so that neither you nor your institution will be identifiable in the study.

Your cooperation is vital to the success of this study and will contribute to a better understanding of the experiences, characteristics, activities and work life of African-American tenured faculty members in Historically white public institutions of higher education in Virginia. It will also add to the archives some primary research on the professional African-American female in higher education.

I thank you for your cooperation and assistance.

Yours truly,

Annette Wilson
Doctoral student
East Tennessee State University

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW OUTLINE

INTERVIEW DATE _____

INTERVIEW OUTLINE

INTERVIEWEE _____

POSITION _____ RANK _____

TENURED _____ YES _____ NO _____

Discussion prior to the interview:

You have been identified as a tenured faculty member in a Historically White institution of higher education in the state of Virginia. This interview is for use in a dissertation study, "A Descriptive Portrayal of the Experiences, Characteristics, Work Life and Activities of Tenured Track African-American Female Faculty Members working within Historically White, Public, Institutions of Higher Education in Virginia."

Please designate if you would prefer that any of the conversation not be quoted.

1. What was your undergraduate major?
2. From where did you receive your highest degree?
3. At what age did you receive your bachelor's degree?
4. What graduate degrees do you hold?
5. In what field and from where?
6. What jobs did you hold prior to attaining your bachelor's degree?
7. How many years of classroom teaching experience do you have?
8. How old were you when you attained your first tenure track teaching assignment?

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

9. What path have you taken to arrive at your present position?
10. Would you take the same path again?

CHARACTERISTICS

11. Describe who you are in regards to your present position?
12. What perception do you have of yourself concerning confidence because of gender issues?
13. Who are your role models/mentors? (Specify, their occupations, locations, etc.,)

WORK LIFE/PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

14. During the work day, what do you experience with your colleagues?
15. Describe in detail your work life experiences with students?

ACTIVITIES

16. Describe your participation in departmental meetings?
17. Describe your participation in university meetings?

18. What is your procedure for participation in off-campus scholarly activities?
19. Is there a community that plays a role in your life?

FUTURE CHALLENGES

20. What do you perceive to be your role in the future of African-Americans participating in majority institutions of higher education?
21. Why should majority institutions care about African-American faculty participation in majority institutions?

CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

22. If you are to succeed in your profession as a faculty member, what do you see as necessary for you to accomplish in the future?
23. What are your academic goals?

VITA
CAROL ANNETTE INGRAM WILSON

Personal Data:	Date of Birth: December 20, 1953 Place of Birth: Wilkesboro, North Carolina Marital Status: Married
Education:	Public Schools, Wilkesboro, North Carolina Appalachian State University, Boone, NC; Home Economics, B.S., 1976 Minor: Secondary Education Appalachian State University, Boone, NC; Early Childhood Education (K-4), M.A., 1990 East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, TN; Higher Education Leadership and Policy Analysis, Ed.D., 1998 Minor: Curriculum and Instruction
Professional Experience:	Assistant to the Dean of Admissions and Student Affairs Morehouse School of Medicine Atlanta, GA, 1981-1982 Coordinator of Special Student Registration Appalachian State University Boone, NC, 1983-1984 Head Teacher Kindergarten United Methodist Child Development Center Boone, NC, 1983-1984 Director/Head Teacher, Appalachian State University Boone, NC, 1984-1988 Head Teacher, Hampton University Laboratory School Hampton, VA, 1988-1990 Pell Grant Assistant, Appalachian State University Boone, NC, 1990-1992 Curriculum and Elementary Instruction, Birth-Kindergarten , Appalachian State University Boone, NC 1992-1996 Director, Center for Teaching Excellence Hampton University, Hampton, VA, 1996-Present